

Also, a bill (H. R. 9996) granting an increase of pension to Emil A. Akerman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McKINIRY: A bill (H. R. 9997) for the relief of Philip Sheridan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MICHENER: A bill (H. R. 9998) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Melville Van Auker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOON: A bill (H. R. 9999) granting an increase of pension to James B. King; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MOORE of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 10000) granting a pension to Annie Hoover; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10001) granting a pension to Rhoda E. Pryor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILSON of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 10002) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent to R. L. Credille, mayor of the village of Bonita, La., in trust for certain purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of the city council of the city of Minneapolis, favoring legislation to fix the profits to be allowed manufacturers, jobbers, and retailers of sugar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURRY of California: Petition of Sacramento Parlor, No. 3, Native Sons of the Golden West, in favor of laws prohibiting Japanese "picture brides" and other oriental immigration; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HILL: Petition of residents of the city of Norwich, N. Y., for national ownership and Government operation of railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa: Petition of sundry citizens of Iowa, urging support of the Kenyon bill (S. 2202); to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of National Association for Advancement of Colored People, of Keokuk, Iowa, urging support of Dyer bill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KINKAID: Petition of R. E. Moran and 132 other residents of Callaway, Nebr., protesting against the provisions of the Kahn and Wadsworth military-training bills; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, October 17, 1919.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we commit our way into Thy hands. Thou hast led us thus far. Thy providence has been over us. Thou hast called us to the mighty tasks of our day, and we look to the center and source of wisdom and grace and power and ask Thee by Thy spiritual ministry to fit us for the solemn and the great responsibility which is upon us. Guide us by Thine own unerring counsel. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore took the chair.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Tuesday, October 14, 1919, when, on request of Mr. Smoot and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Harding	McKellar	Sheppard
Ball	Harris	McLean	Shields
Bankhead	Harrison	McNary	Simmons
Brandegee	Henderson	Moses	Smith, Ariz.
Calder	Hitchcock	Myers	Smith, Ga.
Capper	Johnson, Calif.	Nelson	Smoot
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Spencer
Colt	Jones, Wash.	Newberry	Sterling
Culberson	Kendrick	Norris	Sutherland
Cummins	Kenyon	Nugent	Thomas
Dillingham	Keyes	Overman	Townsend
Edge	King	Page	Trammell
Fernald	Kirby	Penrose	Underwood
Fletcher	Knox	Pittman	Wadsworth
Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Polindexter	Walsh, Mont.
Gay	Lenroot	Pomerene	Watson
Gerry	Lodge	Ransdell	Wolcott
Hale	McCormick	Robinson	

Mr. NEWBERRY. I wish to announce that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CUR-

TIS], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. PHIPPS], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] are engaged in a committee hearing.

Mr. GERRY. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] are detained from the Senate by illness in their families. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. STANLEY], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. DIAL], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are absent on public business. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] are detained on official business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Seventy-one Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATIONS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of the Interior submitting a deficiency estimate of appropriation in the sum of \$147 required by the Reclamation Service to cover items disallowed in the accounts of C. G. Duganne, former disbursing officer of that service (S. Doc. No. 136), which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Postmaster General submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of \$1,500,000 required for additional employees in the Postal Service, fiscal year 1920 (S. Doc. No. 137), which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PROMOTION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the Director of the Bureau of Mines, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF MINES,
Washington, October 16, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with the resolution (S. Res. 203) recently passed by the Senate, I herewith advise you of the activities of the Bureau of Mines in the cooperative work with other Government departments in Washington relating to the foreign commerce of the United States. The bureau was not named specifically in the resolution, but inasmuch as reference was made to other agencies in other departments of the Government, I believe it advisable to apprise you of what the bureau has done and is doing in this respect.

The bureau's chief and perhaps most satisfactory contact work with the other departments has come through its representation on the economic liaison committee, which, as you may know, meets every Wednesday morning at the State Department under the able chairmanship of Mr. Wesley Frost, chief of the economic intelligence section of the department.

The work of the committee has resulted in the preparation and distribution among the various departments of valuable and timely reports on pertinent subjects and questions relating to the foreign commerce of the United States and its economic relations with other governments. These reports have covered such subjects as coal, petroleum, potash, cotton, finance, credits, etc., and their preparation has served to acquaint the representatives of the various departments concerned with the information and opinions of the other departments in a more thorough and comprehensive manner than has heretofore been the case.

The committee, as I understand it, has no recognized official status, but was initiated solely on the responsibility of the Secretary of State. In consequence of the lack of official status and because of some difference of opinion among the heads of the various departments represented, no publication of the activities and reports of the committee has been permissible, which in certain cases has, I believe, prevented the dissemination of the reports where such publicity might do an appreciable amount of good.

Part of the time of one man and a clerk have been spent upon this work since its inauguration, with such additional assistance in the way of expert advice and committee consultation as it has been necessary to obtain from the various specialists of the bureau whose special subjects are under consideration. The cost of this work is therefore nominal.

In addition to the bureau's participation in the work of the economic liaison committee, it has obtained such information as was possible from various sources and expressed such opinions, chiefly in the nature of written reports on special subjects, as circumstances and the limited personnel available for the work allowed. This work naturally covers the whole field of minerals and metals, particularly with regard to their beneficiation, both in mining and metallurgy. The bureau has been particularly concerned recently with the international situation in petroleum and coal.

I believe it would be of distinct value to the bureau, other Government departments, and the country at large, if the entire time of an able representative of the bureau and such clerical assistance as he might require could be engaged in this contact work, so that the bureau might have not only the assistance of other departments and render such assistance to them as it could in foreign trade matters, but also in order that the work of the various bureau specialists in matters having to do with foreign commerce could be correlated and disseminated from one source.

If it is in order, in accordance with the resolution, I believe it advisable to consider giving official status to the economic liaison committee or some such cooperative body representing the various Government de-

partments, and that the deliberations and reports of such a committee should be given to the public under proper safeguards.

Trusting that this will give you the information desired, I am, Mr. President,

Most sincerely, yours,

VAN. H. MANNING,
Director.

The honorable the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 9782) to regulate further the entry of aliens into the United States, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I have a telegram here from the Presbyterian Synod of California and Nevada approving the covenant of the league of nations. I ask to have it read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read, without objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., October 16, 1919.

The SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Care of Senator Pittman, of Nevada, Washington, D. C.:

The Synod of California and Nevada, consisting of over 55,000 communicants, in regular annual session assembled in San Francisco, while not committing itself upon the justice of the Shantung award or other details of the peace treaty, does nevertheless enthusiastically indorse the treaty as a whole, including the provisions for the establishment of a league of nations, and commends this treaty as humane and Christian, and it urges upon the Representatives of California and Nevada, the Hon. JAMES PHELAN and the Hon. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, of California, and the honorable Mr. PITTMAN and the honorable Mr. HENDERSON, of Nevada, their support of the measure of adoption, and strongly oppose any reservations or amendments which might invalidate the treaty as a whole.

WM. S. YOUNG, Stated Clerk.

Mr. HENDERSON. I have received a similar telegram, which I was going to ask to have read, but I join with my colleague in the presentation of the telegram which has been read and which will be inserted in the RECORD. I present the telegram addressed to me and ask that it be received and appropriately referred.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I wish to announce that I have received a good many more telegrams than those that have been introduced. The telegrams I have received are opposed to the league of nations. I shall not offer them.

Mr. LODGE. I submit a telegram which I ask to have read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., October 16, 1919.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Chairman Foreign Relations Committee.

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

As Americans and friends of Irish freedom, we protest against imputation of Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS that friends of Irish freedom, either collectively or individually, have threatened assassination to any person, either in official or private life. Our organization countenances only legal, constitutional methods of presenting the case of Ireland to our fellow citizens. May we ask that you give this protest proper publicity.

THOMAS J. CLARKE BRANCH
FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM,
HUGH O'CONNOR, President.
T. O'LEARY, Secretary.

Mr. LODGE presented a memorial of the faculty and students of St. Meinrad Seminary, at St. Meinrad, Ind., remonstrating against the ratification of the league of nations treaty, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have here a copy of resolutions adopted by the Legislative League of New York City, N. Y., an organization maintained by some public-spirited women of that State. The resolutions have to do with the covenant of the league of nations and condemn it as presented, and I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The following resolution was adopted by the Legislative League, New York City, October 2, 1919:

"Whereas the German peace treaty and the so-called league of nations covenant should have been entirely separate instruments, but were purposely made into a conglomerate in order that the peace-loving American people should accept the whole mass of entanglements and obligations for the sake of speedily making peace with Germany; and

"Whereas our Congress has the power to declare the war at an end and that a state of peace now exists between the United States and Germany; and

"Whereas the league of nations covenant is grossly discriminatory against the United States in that Great Britain has been given six votes in the assembly while the great United States of America has been given only one, even though our States are more nearly sovereign than are the British colonies; and

"Whereas article 10 and other articles would compel the American people to send their boys to and expend their taxes in any part of the globe where democracy manifests itself as it did with us in 1776 in order to suppress freedom and independence, even with shot and shell; and

"Whereas the league of nations definitely creates a superstate depriving the United States of her sovereignty, impairing the prestige of our Monroe doctrine, interfering with immigration and other internal policies; and

"Whereas our beloved country has gained its power, its greatness, its wealth, and its prestige because of its untrammelled freedom of action, and because of its adherence to Washington's admonition to beware of foreign entanglements; and

"Whereas we believe that the United States and its people can serve humanity better by their free and independent action rather than by the dictates of a foreign council or assembly: Be it

"Resolved, That we, the Legislative League of New York City, some of the mothers of the country, affectionately wishing the welfare of our beloved land, earnestly urge that Congress shall declare to the world that the war with Germany is ended and that a state of peace now exists between the United States and Germany; be it further

"Resolved, That we beg the Senators of the United States now debating our entering the so-called league of nations, that they cast their votes for the good of the American people and defeat the ratification of the so-called league of nations."

Mr. SPENCER. I present a memorial from the National Race Congress of America relating to certain phases which are especially applicable to the colored race, and ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A Memorial.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 16, 1919.

To the Congress of the United States of America:

We, the National Race Congress of America, in its fourth session, representing 12,000,000 negroes, and viewing with alarm the spread of lawlessness and the growing injustice to millions of those loyal Americans, most respectfully petition the Congress of the United States as follows, to wit:

1. That you pass the antilynching bill, now pending, with the amendment giving any Federal court jurisdiction of the crime of lynching, regardless of venue.

2. That there be identical accommodations upon all common carriers, both in interstate and intrastate travel.

3. That all Federal registrations and elections be placed and held under Federal supervision.

4. That the statute on the removal of causes be so amended that plaintiffs and complainants shall have the rights in instituting suits in a Federal court on the ground of local prejudice that defendants have in removing causes to a Federal court on the ground of local prejudice, notice to be given under the amendment as now provided by law.

5. That a law be enacted creating a board of conciliation, the personnel of which shall be named by the United States Congress, and whose duties shall be to investigate and report to Congress on all matters of racial unrest, racial discriminations, and racial antipathy.

6. That a law be enacted providing equal military and naval training for all American citizens.

7. That a law be enacted making the assemblage or formation of a posse in any county unlawful, unless said assemblage or posse be called by the sheriff of the county in which assembled, and said assemblage or posse without the call of the sheriff of said county shall be prima facie evidence of mob violence.

8. That all legislation affecting labor be so drawn and passed that it can not be used for discriminations on account of race, creed, or color, and that there be an economic wage scale that shall apply to white and colored alike.

William Harrison, Illinois, chairman; Daniel L. Reed, Texas; John R. Hawkins, District of Columbia; J. A. Whitted, Pennsylvania; P. W. Howard, Mississippi, secretary; P. J. Bryant, Georgia; Charles Stewart, Illinois; W. Calvin Chase, District of Columbia; R. L. Vann, Pennsylvania; W. T. Andrews, South Carolina; George E. Haynes, Tennessee; E. H. Coit, South Carolina; W. H. Brooks, District of Columbia; R. E. S. Tomey, Florida; A. P. Prielleau, South Carolina.

Approved by the National Race Congress October 10, 1919.

W. H. JERNAGIN,
President, Washington, D. C.
C. H. STEPTAU,
Secretary, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask to have inserted in the RECORD a telegram announcing the support of the league of nations by a religious organization in Massachusetts; by a religious convention in Nebraska; also a telegram from the Protestants of Sacramento, Calif., to the same effect; a telegram stating the number of signatures of petitions, being 534 in number, sent to the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], asking him to support the league of nations; a telegram from the Shakespeare Club of Pasadena, Calif., with a membership of 700 women, supporting the league of nations, and asking for the immediate ratification of the treaty; also a telegram from the Musicians' Club of Los Angeles, Calif., announcing their discussion and support of the league of nations; also a telegram from the president and secretary of the Teachers' Association of Pasadena, Calif., 200 members, supporting the league of nations, and asking for the immediate ratification of the treaty; and also a telegram to the same effect from a political organization of Missouri.

There being no objection, the telegrams and communications were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHELburnE FALLS, MASS., October 15, 1919.

Senator HITCHCOCK,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Franklin Association Congregational Churches and ministers again puts itself on record in favor of the league of nations.

O. E. HARDY.

WEEPINGWATER, NEBR., October 15, 1919.

Hon. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolved by the Nebraska Congregational conference in annual session at Weepingwater, Nebr., October 13-15, 1919, That we consider a final vote upon the treaty of peace with Germany without delay a matter of urgent necessity; that while recognizing its imperfections we urge the ratification of the treaty without amendment or reservations necessitating a reopening of the negotiations; that we hereby instruct the business community committee to communicate these resolutions to President Wilson, to Senator LODGE, and to Senators HITCHCOCK and NORRIS of Nebraska.

CHAS. ROGERS,
JOHN A. ANDRESS,
LOUIS HIEB,
Committee on Resolutions.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., October 15, 1919.

Senator GILBERT HITCHCOCK,
Washington, D. C.:

The Sacramento Church Federation Council, representing the thousands of Protestants in Sacramento, the home town of Senator HIRAM JOHNSON, after a careful study of the peace treaty and the league of nations, have decided with but one dissenting voice to wire Senator JOHNSON the following:

"At the regular meeting of the Sacramento Church Federation to-day it was voted that we deplore your attitude on the league of nations and that we are still strong for the covenant."

SACRAMENTO CHURCH FEDERATION,
M. F. HARBAUGH,
Executive Secretary.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., October 15, 1919.

Senator G. M. HITCHCOCK,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

To-day mailed Senator JOHNSON 534 signatures on petition. Warren Olney, justice of supreme court, addressed meeting resulting in 317 postals and 7 telegrams signed and sent to Senator JOHNSON.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR PEACE TREATY.

PASADENA, CALIF., October 14, 1919.

Senator HITCHCOCK,
Washington, D. C.:

Shakespeare Club of Pasadena, Calif., having a membership of 700 women, at its business meeting October 14, by vote approved the immediate ratification of the treaty of peace and the league of nations by the United States Senate.

Mrs. FRANK H. FEARS,
Corresponding Secretary.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., October 14, 1919.

Senator GILBERT HITCHCOCK,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: I have the honor of advising you that at a meeting of the Musicians Club, of this city, last night, after an address by L. A. Handy on the league of nations, on motion by Charles Wakefield Cadman the club earnestly urged the early ratification of the treaty that will make the league of nations reality.

FRED A. BACON, Secretary.

JOHN MUIR INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL,
Pasadena, Calif., October 10, 1919.

Senator GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Pasadena Teachers' Association, which consists of 300 members:

"Resolved, That the Pasadena Teachers' Association, believing that no other way presents itself to peacefully solve international problems, and that the United States should share the responsibilities as well as the advantages of a world power, urges the Senators of the State of California to assist in the ratification of the peace treaty and the covenant of the league of nations without delay or amendment."

Very truly, yours,

GEORGE HETZEL, President.
JANE J. POULSEN, Secretary.

ST. LOUIS, MO., October 15, 1919.

Senator HITCHCOCK,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Please read the following into CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"We, the Democratic Women's Central Committee of the State of Missouri, in convention assembled, do urge the United States Senate to ratify the peace treaty with its accompanying league of nations covenant as soon as possible, leaving further reservations and amendments to the constituent membership of the league of nations as they try it out in actual experience."

Mrs. W. W. MARTIN,
Member Democratic State Central Committee Missouri.

Mr. NEW. I send to the desk a copy of resolutions adopted by a mass meeting of the Friends of Irish Freedom held in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., on the evening of October 11, and ask that they may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted at meeting at Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, Ind., October 11, 1919.

Whereas the United States entered the World War under the most solemn declaration of our President, who said: "America is fighting for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggression of autocratic force; for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples"; and

Whereas every nation which engaged in the conflict accepted this new gospel of world liberty as announced by our President; and Whereas England has subjected the people of Ireland to her rule for seven and one-half centuries, and still continues to do so against the will of the Irish people, expressed in the republican form of government which they, by an overwhelming majority, established to rule themselves: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, American citizens, who have assembled here to encourage and support the Irish Republic and do honor to the President of Ireland, do earnestly indorse and support the demand of the Irish people for the free exercise of their right of national independence; that we sincerely and respectfully urge the President and Congress of the United States to give immediate and effective recognition to the Irish Republic as the first and most necessary step in securing a lasting peace for the world and in redeeming our pledge given when entering the late war.

Whereas the covenant of the league of nations in its present form, without the previous recognition of Ireland's independence, would in effect condemn the Irish people to continue bondage by pledging America's support to England against any nation which might seek to render assistant to Ireland in her struggle for freedom: Be it

Resolved, That we call upon the Senate of the United States to oppose and vote against the said covenant, and we approve of the attitude adopted by Senators WATSON and NEW, of Indiana, in their opposition to the said covenant; and

Whereas England is expending approximately at the rate of \$60,000,000 per year on her army of occupation in Ireland alone, not to mention the still larger sums spent in maintaining armies of occupation amongst other subject peoples: Be it further

Resolved, That we call upon Congress to withhold further loans or financial accommodations to Great Britain until she withdraws her army of occupation from Ireland.

Copies of these resolutions to be sent to the President of the United States, to Vice President MARSHALL, and to Senators WATSON and NEW.

Mr. MYERS presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Park County, Mont., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation providing for the establishment of game sanctuaries in national forests, which was referred to the Committee on Forest Reservations and Protection of Game.

Mr. NEWBERRY presented memorials of sundry citizens of Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against the establishment of a department of education, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. McLEAN presented a petition of the Connecticut Baptist Convention, and a petition of sundry citizens of New Haven, Conn., praying for the ratification of the proposed league of nations treaty, which were ordered to lie on the table.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter from a soldier, who writes to me from Madill, Okla.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MADILL, OKLA., July 9, 1919.

DEAR SIR: I write you this letter, believing that you will not hesitate to publish a letter written by a soldier boy who saw active service on the battle front in the great World War with Company B, Three hundred and forty-fourth Machine Gun Battalion, Ninetieth Division, and who followed the old Stars and Stripes in the battles of the Meuse, Argonne, and St. Mihiel.

It appears from reading your daily paper that you have nothing to offer your readers but to abuse and make fun of people that happen to oppose the United States adopting the proposed league of nations. You fail to offer any intelligent reason why the British-Wilson league should be accepted by this country, but content yourself by offering insults and contempt to the free-thinking people of America that are standing out and favoring this great Nation of ours retaining its traditional policy promulgated and established by the immortal Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe and adhered to by Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt of keeping out of any entangling alliances with foreign nations.

You also forget that President Woodrow Wilson as late as February, 1916, bitterly assailed that class of citizens that were advocating going into the war with Germany or becoming involved in any foreign entanglements or alliances, and made the statement that he did not know what their standard of citizenship was, but that he could not subscribe to that standard.

Every reasonable man knows that in past history following every great war we have a bountiful crop of pacifists that are always promulgating some doctrine to prevent future wars; in fact, President Wilson, in 1916, led lots of people to believe that it did not make any difference what happened, that he would keep this country out of war, and it is very evident at this time, through the metropolitan press of the country, which has no fixed convictions on any principle of government and whose conscience is only moved by the jingle of gold, that lots of people are being led to believe that the proposed British-Wilson league of nations will prevent future wars for all time to come, when in truth and in fact the adoption of this proposed league of nations means that the free Government of the United States no longer exists and that the seat of government at Washington will have been removed to Geneva, Switzerland, where a few autocratic men, selected without any voice or vote of the people, will assemble with the kings and emperors and czars of the world and dictate the destiny of the world; that our Nation, by this agreement, pledges the last dollar of America and the last drop of American blood to police and protect the empires, the kingdoms, and the monarchies of all Europe, Asia, and Africa; and that all this supposed sentiment that is being talked about for this league of nations comes from the international bankers, the profiteers, that got rich out of the recent World War; these loud-mouthed patriots that petitioned Congress to pass the draft law and then used all their influence to keep their own boys at home. I now fling the challenge in your face that the boys that went through the horrors of the war on the actual battle front are not making any howl or sending out any ex-Presidents or Presidents to make speeches in behalf this un-American propaganda called the league

of nations. I have not heard of any of the fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters of the thousands of dead American soldiers that sleep on foreign battle fields writing any letters or making any speeches in favor of this infamous doctrine called the league of nations, which binds this great, free country of ours to act as general policeman and guardian for the world and destroys our Nation, its Constitution, and its sovereignty, but in my humble judgment this proposed scheme should properly be called the alliance of the money changers, profiteers, and the get-rich-quick, who have no respect for the blood of American soldiers, the weeping of widows, and the groans of orphans as long as money can be poured into their coffers through any channel.

Will thank you to publish this letter, and if you have any sane or intelligent reason why any good citizen should use their influence to have the Senate of the United States approve this proposed league of nations, I would be glad for you to present them without abusing people who happen to differ from you.

Yours, very truly,

LEONARD MCKENZIE.

CLAIMS OF ARMY OFFICERS.

Mr. NEW, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2120) for the relief of certain officers in the United States Army, asked to be discharged from further consideration of the bill and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims, which was agreed to.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. RANDELL:

A bill (S. 3244) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent to R. L. Credille, mayor of the village of Bonita, La., in trust, for certain purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

A bill (S. 3245) to regulate the marriage of persons in the military and naval forces of the United States in foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LENROOT:

A bill (S. 3246) for the relief of Hugo Stamm; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Georgia:

A bill (S. 3247) to require the Secretary of War to cause a survey to be made for a canal from Cumberland Sound through the St. Marys River, thence to the Suwanee River, and through the Suwanee River to St. Marks, on the Gulf of Mexico; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 3248) equalizing the pay of retired enlisted men of the United States Army and the United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 3249) granting an increase of pension to Alfred Blair; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the city of Portland, Oreg., tents, cots, blankets, and pillows for the use of visitors attending the forty-sixth annual session of the Imperial Council, Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, in June, 1920; and

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 117) to provide certain metal for the making of a national memorial carillon (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I submit a resolution and ask that it be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 215), as follows:

Whereas by the treaty between Germany on the one side and the allied and associated powers on the other, signed at Versailles the 28th day of June, A. D. 1919, it is provided that the same will come into force between the powers ratifying the same upon the deposit of ratifications by Germany and three of the said allied and associated powers; and

Whereas the said treaty has now been ratified by Germany and by three of the said powers, to wit, France, Great Britain, and Italy, and will be in effect between the said powers and the other signatories to the said treaty that have ratified the same upon the formal issuance of the procès-verbal reciting the ratifications aforesaid; and

Whereas by virtue of the said treaty the league of nations will thereupon come into being and be authorized to entertain representations in accordance with article 11 of the covenant for the league of nations, as follows:

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either international peace or the good understanding between nations, upon which peace depends"; and

Whereas the amicable relations between Great Britain and the United States are continually imperiled by controversies over the government of Ireland: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that whenever the United States becomes a member of said league of nations, by ratification of the said treaty or otherwise, the Government of the United States should present to the council or the assembly of the league the state of affairs in Ireland and the right of its people to self-government.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the rule, the resolution goes over until to-morrow.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That course is satisfactory.

ANALYSIS OF LABOR PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, there is no question more involved or more far-reaching in its effect upon the future of this country than Part XIII of the treaty, which deals with the labor question. Because it is apparently in the interest of labor this phase of the treaty has had little opposition from Members of the Senate or the public generally. It is of such great importance that it ought to be thoroughly examined into before the treaty is finally passed upon. In fact, it is a subject that warrants a study and discussion that once entered upon will take several weeks of the Senate's time.

I know that there is a widespread feeling throughout the country that the treaty should be disposed of at once, but Part XIII is fraught with so much danger to the economic good of our Nation, and there is such a great possibility of injury not only to labor but to the industry of the country as well that even if the ratification of the treaty is delayed for another month this subject ought to be thoroughly ventilated. I have had given to me an analysis of Part XIII, prepared by Mr. Eugene E. Smith, editor of Labor Opinion, published at Portland, Oreg. This is a monthly digest of contemporary labor and industrial thought as expressed in labor, financial, and trade press. I commend this analysis to the careful consideration of the Members of this body, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The analysis is as follows:

"PART XIII, LABOR, TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY.

"(By Eugene E. Smith.)

"The following is in no wise intended to be controversial or argumentative, but it is intended that it shall start a train of thought that will lead toward and arrive at a proper determination of the question, Can the Democracy of the Republic of the United States of America, functioning through its constituted Government and the administration thereof, as that administration may be changed from time to time by the vote of all the people, operate more efficiently for social progress for all our people unhampered by a political, official alliance with the socialistic movements of Europe, or will it be aided in such efforts and then for unity by such an alliance? To keep clear and apart in the mind of the reader matters of fact and matters of the writer's opinion and the conclusions reached based on a combination of both on specific points, such facts, opinions, and conclusions are so captioned in that which follows.

"Facts: Part 13, captioned 'Labor,' treaty of peace with Germany (U. S. Senate Doc. No. 49, to be had on application to your Senator or to the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.), establishes a permanent organization (art. 387) recognized by the peace commission as an 'organization of labor' (art. 386), to be international in character and make-up, a membership by a nation in the league of nations carrying with it the obligations of membership in the labor organization (art. 387). The permanent organization of labor is to consist of—

"First. A general conference of representatives of the nations members of the league; and

"Second. An international labor office (art. 388).

"For the purpose of summarizing, we will take up the make-up of the general conference of representatives first. The conference will meet at least once in every year, and may be held oftener if it is determined an occasion may so require. It will be composed of four delegates from each of the nations, members of the league, two of whom will be Government delegates, i. e., appointed by the Government to represent the Government's, hence the public's, interests; one of whom will be appointed by the Government, who shall be nominated by the employers, and one of whom shall be appointed by the Government, who shall be nominated by the workpeople of the member nation. Provision is made for advisers to the delegates, and where women are affected women advisers may be selected. An adviser may only speak in the conference upon request by the delegate whom he or she accompanies and on authorization of the president of the conference, and may not vote; however, an adviser may be privileged to both speak and vote if acting in the capacity of deputy for his or her delegate. Members (nations) 'undertake to nominate nongovernment delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of the employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.' (Art. 389.)

"Here it will be interesting to note, in order to comprehend the probable size and make-up of the international labor organizations of the future, the nations to be represented therein. These follow: The original members of the league of nations, signatories of the treaty of peace, which are the United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire (including Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India), China, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay; and the States invited, to date, to accede to the covenant of the league of nations, which are the Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela; and likewise the nations that in the future, in all likelihood, will be invited to accede to the covenant of the league of nations, which are Mexico, Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and, sometime, Turkey—a total of 27 signatory nations, 13 States invited to become such, and 6 that sooner or later will be invited—a grand total of 46—which means a conference composed of from 100 to 150 or more delegates. (Annex No. 1 to part 1 of the treaty of peace with Germany.)

"The seat of the league of nations has been fixed at Geneva, Switzerland. (Art. 7.) The meetings of the international labor conference, excepting for the first meeting, will be held at the seat of the league of nations, except another place may be decided upon by a preceding conference by a two-thirds majority vote by the delegates present. (Art. 391.)

"The international labor office, which is the second and administrative half of the international organization of labor set up by the league of nations, will be established 'at the seat of the league of nations as part of the organization of the league.' (Art. 392.) This office will be controlled by a governing body consisting of 24 persons appointed as follows: Twelve representing the Governments, 6 elected by the delegates to the conference representing employers and 6 elected by the delegates to the conference representing the workers. Eight of the 12 persons appointed to represent the Governments on the governing body of the international labor office will be nominated by members (nations) which are of chief industrial importance. If any question arises as to which of the members are of chief industrial importance the matter shall be decided by the council of the league of nations. This governing body will elect from its members its own chairman, will regulate its own procedure, and will fix its own times of meeting. (Art. 393.) It will appoint a director of the international labor office, who will be responsible for the official conduct of the office and for the performance of such other duties as may be assigned to him by the governing body. (Art. 394.)

"The director will appoint his own staff (art. 385) to carry out the functions of the international labor office, which include the 'collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions in industrial life and labor' and the preparation of the agenda for the meetings of the conference and the editing and publication in French and in English and in other languages, if the governing body thinks desirable, of 'a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.' (Art. 396.) The international labor office will be entitled to the assistance of the secretary general of the league of nations in any matter in which it can be given. (Art. 398.)

"Article 7 of the treaty of peace specifies, among other things, that 'representatives and members of the league and officials of the league, when engaged on the business of the league, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.'

"The foregoing will give one a fair idea of the scope and the importance of the proposed international labor conference, its close connection with the league of nations, its prestige because of that close connection, and the efficient machinery that is to be set up to carry out the proclamations and recommendations of the conference. The conference only has power to recommend to members of the league of nations the enactment of legislation or approval of treaties, and these recommendations must be approved by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present; however, 'each of the members undertakes that it will, within a period of one year at most from the closing of the session of the conference, or if it is impossible owing to exceptional circumstances to do so within the period of one year, then at the earliest practicable moment, and in no case later than 18 months from the closing of the session of the conference, bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose com-

petency the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action'—hence no member nation may ignore the recommendations of the conference when the same are presented under the terms of the treaty. (Art. 405.)

"Provision is also made in the treaty under articles 411 and 412 for a commission of inquiry to inquire into any neglect on the part of any member ratifying any of the convention or recommendations of the conference to enforce the provisions thereof, and if found necessary to obtain this enforcement the matter may be referred to the permanent court of international justice of the league of nations (art. 415), the decision of which shall be final. (Art. 417.)

"Opinion: Any decision, from the simple viewpoint of an American citizen as such only, on the merits or demerits or the probable future effects of the international labor organization as set up in the treaty of peace, must not be based merely upon the written words, clauses, and articles dealing therewith in part 13 of said treaty. Rather we must take into consideration, first, the conditions existing at the time these were written, particularly as these conditions bore upon the destiny of the European Governments; and, second, the present tendency on the part of these Governments and their respective national labor movements toward acceptance of the principle of nationalization of private capital and industry, or, in other words, toward socialism and to some degree at least toward Bolshevism, which interpreted means a dictatorship by the proletariat or the so-called wageworkers, because it is reasonable to assume that if the tendency is in this direction it will be reflected more and more year by year in the recommendations and proclamations of the international labor conference. In every country of industrial importance, likely to have influential representation in these conferences, the trade-union movements, with the exception of the United States, are strongly socialistic.

"In July of this year there met at Amsterdam delegates representing the trade-union movements of the various European nations and the United States with the purpose to reorganize the International Trade Union Congress, and this purpose was effected. On nomination by Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. W. A. Appleton, secretary of the Confederation of British Trade Unions, was elected president of the International Trade Union Congress, succeeding Carl Legien, of Germany, who was president of the congress at the time of the outbreak of the World War. According to an historical survey of the proceedings of the Amsterdam meeting published in the Democrat, of London, edited by Mr. Appleton, directly after the adjournment of the International Trade Union Congress convention the delegates reassembled into an international socialist convention, in which all countries were represented by the same delegates they were represented by in the International Trade Union Congress, with the exception of the United States and its delegates. According to the same article or survey, the Amsterdam International Trade Union Congress adopted a resolution, binding upon all members, which set the objective in the international labor conferences to be held under the auspices of the league of nations to be the program of the international trade union conference that was held early in 1919 at Berne, Switzerland. In this connection it is interesting to note that the American labor movement was not represented at the Berne conference. It is also just as interesting to note further that the international trade union conference at Berne of 1919 declared that an international parliament of labor should be set up by the league of nations with power and authority to issue not only international conventions with the binding force of law behind them but also international laws which, immediately upon adoption should have the same force legally as national laws in all nations.

"The so-called labor-capital problem, said to be the greatest problem now before the various peoples of the world, is, in the opinion of the writer, not the question at issue at all, for while there are some differences between what we call labor, meaning thereby the manual wageworkers of our country, and so-called capital, better described as the management in industry, few, if any, of these differences are irreconcilable, particularly in the United States. The real question at issue can be more properly described as being the irreconcilable difference between capitalism and socialism and the more extreme form of socialism commonly described as Bolshevism, which had its genesis in the teachings and doctrines of socialism. Hence from the viewpoint of this analysis the question to be considered is not a labor-capital question in the commonly accepted sense. Reduced to words it might be put thus: Will the international labor conference and its machinery, as a part of the league of nations, function so as to actually bring labor and industrial manage-

ment in America into a closer understanding, assuring justice to each without destroying either, but rather securing that which is due to both, or will it function to advance tenets, doctrines, and the cause of socialism, syndicalism, or even extreme Bolshevism? We have shown where the International Trade Union Congress, lately adjourned in Amsterdam, declared for the Berne program, which was largely socialistic and inclined in some matters toward Bolshevism.

"It might be well to examine as well as we may the attitude of the principal European Governments toward a very vital contention made by the Berne conference, namely, the right of the workers in an international parliament to promulgate decrees having the force and legal binding effect of international law, binding on all countries members of the league of nations. On June 1 of this year Acting Secretary of State Long, at Washington, D. C., made public through the press the German note on international labor (and the note of the allied Governments in reply thereto), protesting against the arrangements made by the peace commission for an international organization of labor under the league of nations. The German peace delegation in this note said: 'In the opinion of the German democratic government the final decision in questions of labor law and labor protection belongs to the workers themselves.' In another place in the same note the delegation said: 'According to the resolutions of the international trade-union conference at Berne, the international parliament of labor is to issue not only international conventions with legal binding force but also international laws which, from the moment of their adoption, are to have the same effect (legally binding force) as national laws (proclamations to the workers of all countries adopted by the international trade-union conference at Berne, 1919, at the motion of Jousaux, the delegate from France). The draft of the German democratic government indorses this resolution and makes the passing of such laws depend on the assent of four-fifths of the nations represented.' In other words, the German democratic government was, and we assume is, in favor of an international labor parliament as a part of the league of nations with power to issue international edicts on labor questions binding on all nations members of the league when four-fifths of the countries represented in the international labor parliament vote in favor of any such edict.

"The reply of the allied and associated governments, dated May 31, and signed by President Clemenceau, of the peace commission, is fully as interesting, though seeming to reject in toto the contentions of the German Government. Section 1 of Premier Clemenceau's reply, which, of course, was approved by our own representative, President Wilson, said in part: 'The allied institutions hold it to be their duty to collaborate with labor in the formulation of such laws, but the laws must be passed upon by representatives of the whole community.' Further along in his note Premier Clemenceau says, however (in the latter part of section 5): 'The labor commission, moreover, set up by the peace conference envisaged all of the points mentioned in your letter as coming within the scope of the labor organization. * * * Section 6 of the same note reads in part: 'It [the labor commission] also adopted a resolution (copy annexed) in favor of the organization being given power as soon as possible to pass resolutions possessing the force of international law. International labor laws can not at present be made operative merely by resolutions passed at conferences. The workers of one country are not prepared to be bound in all by laws imposed on them by representatives of other countries; international conventions as provided for under the peace treaty are, therefore, at present more effective than international labor laws, for the enforcement of which no penal sanctions can be applied.' In annex No. 2 of the allied note here referred to Premier Clemenceau transmits to the German delegation a copy of the resolution referred to by him in the first sentence of section 6 of his note. The resolution reads:

"The commission expresses the hope that as soon as it may be possible an agreement will be arrived at between the high contracting parties with a view to endowing the international labor conference under the auspices of the league of nations with power to make, under conditions to be determined, resolutions possessing the force of international law.

"The underscoring of the words 'at present' appearing twice in section 6 of the note quoted is ours as it strikes us as being peculiar that these words should be used and repeated, thus leaving the impression that probably in the future the principle adopted at the Berne conference and approved by the German democratic government might be brought into full acceptance through the league of nations and its international labor conferences by the members of the league, leaving one to assume that when the labor commission, headed by Mr. Gompers, whose colleague from America was Mr. E. N. Hurley, adopted the resolution expressing the hope that the high contracting

parties would as soon as possible endow the international labor conference with power to pass resolutions possessing the force of international law, they, the commission, possibly had some ground for belief that Messrs. Clemenceau, Wilson, George, et al, felt kindly toward their aspirations and hopes on this point and might help to shape things toward the end that these might be consummated.

"So much for the probable tendency of the various European national labor movements and the European Governments to go contrary to the ideals of America. Examination of the social currents in European Nations, including even conservative England, will lead one to no other belief except that the trade-union movements of these countries are fast becoming anticapital and prosocialist. This is strongly reflected in their different Governments; hence it is more than probable that a majority of the delegates elected by and from the various countries to sit as such in the international conferences of labor will be anticapital and prosocialist. While it is true the agenda or program of each meeting of the conference is set in advance and any Government may object to any item of the agenda, it is also true that the governing body of the international labor office determines the agenda from year to year, and it is also true that regardless of any Government's objection to any item on the agenda the conference may by two-thirds vote set the objection aside and consider the item at another time at their own discretion, and even the protesting Government is bound under its treaty obligations to present any resolution or recommendation passed by the conference and so ordered to its national congress or parliament within practically one year from the adoption of the recommendation by the labor conference. As an example, England has declared for the nationalization of its coal mines. The international labor conference could arrange for a discussion of the subject at a coming meeting and upon approval of the principle by two-thirds of the delegates voting in a conference our Government and every other Government represented in the league would be forced under its treaty obligations to place the matter before Congress, and the full force of all the machinery of the international labor office with its world-wide publication, its scores of expert advisors and statisticians, could be placed behind the campaign for adoption. The same thing could easily happen in the matter of forcing our Government to put before its Congress the matter of waiving its right to participate in determining our country's will in the passage of international or even national labor laws and conferring all its rights in the matter upon the international labor conference. These matters are not only important to so-called capital but, we assume, are of vital import to American workpeople. Granting that American labor and European labor desire approximately the same degree of attainment in the matters of economic security, opportunity, etc., the method of approach is radically different in the European countries and our own.

"One provision of the treaty in particular can easily operate to the end that independent alliances may be formed between the various groups of labor and employers which may be in competition with America for foreign trade and markets. We refer to article 407, which says, 'If any convention coming before the conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the delegates present it shall nevertheless be within the rights of any of the members of the permanent organization to agree to such convention among themselves,' thus affording ample opportunity for different balances of industrial power to be struck between nations contending for trade and economic advantages, for nations will always so contend as long as there are nations. It must never be forgotten that America is the richest of all nations, and there is a human trait, seemingly, that is ineradicable, and that is to be envious of and combine against wealth. While it is true the league of nations seeks through its machinery to prevent political side combinations of governments, it would appear that it is affording an official channel through which industrial and economic combinations may be made under the guise of social and labor betterment. This aside, it would appear from the foregoing that a wonderful opportunity will be presented, not yet recognized, it would seem, by either the Socialists or those who believe in the capitalistic system of production, for the spreading and dissemination over the entire surface of the earth of the doctrines of socialism, paid for—and stamped with their implied approval, at least—by the capitalistic nations of the world. It would appear that America must in the nature of things be forced to go Europe's way rather than by example to succeed in the American way to find relief from the present chaotic condition, an example set up by a leadership based upon the firm rock of Americanism and the ideals of America for the individual citizen whose happiness and welfare, according to our fathers, are more important than the

strength and welfare of any Government, when this is built upon the unhappiness of its subjects or citizens.

"It is true that the labor commission set up by the peace commission did, with a world of detail, seek to surround the international labor conference with safeguards and checks that would prevent that which we have described; but it is equally true, and this is based on the experience and history of the past, that any body of men formed into a conference or assembly or parliament or bureau and who are given certain legislative, administrative, or judicial powers seek untiringly and unceasingly to develop and enlarge those powers and fight bitterly any attempt that is made to take any power from them. The only excuse or reason America has for entering into any such combination is to rescue Europe from a possible condition of utter chaos. To do this through the machinery of the international labor conference will mean that, despite an overwhelming voting strength against them, the representatives of our Government and the representatives of our employers and of our labor, totaling four in number, must at all times lead and direct the other delegates the American way or else be led and directed by the European delegates the European way; hence it is not strange if some Americans think that we can do more for Europe by acting independently in such matters and by our success demonstrating the worth and soundness of our remedies.

"In a sense the international labor conference is a legislative body, with representatives elected thereto by certain industrial groups, and even the Government delegates elected thereto will more than likely be men or women closely allied with industry or keenly sympathetic with one group or the other. Not to make an odious or extreme comparison, it resembles in some ways the industrial or class legislative bodies that some of our extremists would set up to replace the present political scheme of government. Just how many years must go by with the annual or more frequent meetings of the international labor conference before it becomes actually a serious competitor for supremacy with that of our political Government is a question for the future to determine, but a question that is rich in possibilities and deserves present examination.

"Conclusions: These may be summarized as follows:

"First. That because of the tendency on the part of the foreign national labor movements and the peoples of European nations toward socialism, the international labor conference will become the world clearing house for socialist propaganda, tintured more or less with plain Bolshevism.

"Second. Opportunity will be made more easy for effective economic and trade alliances—disguised as labor treaties—against the interests of the foreign trade of the United States.

"Third. An undue burden and responsibility will be placed, through our participation in the international labor conference, upon American labor and American capital for the redempting to a sound footing the social, political, and economic conditions of European nations.

"Fourth. That the international labor conference will from year to year gain for itself greater and greater power, to the final end that this power will overshadow the political power of our Government over certain vital domestic policies, thus threatening political and democratic government itself.

"Fifth. It will be far better that a labor bureau or department be set up by the league of nations corresponding with our Federal Department of Labor, leaving the different national labor movements to meet when and how they choose as such, as they now do in the International Trade Union Congress, giving them the free exercise of the right to submit singly or jointly, either by themselves or in conjunction with the employing interests of any one or more nations, that which is their program for national and international law affecting labor.

"Sixth. It is unreasonable to assume that the employing interests of America will be keen to enter into agreements with the American labor movement, thus strengthening it, if that movement is continually assailed through the machinery of the international labor conference with un-American doctrines.

"Seventh. No national understanding between American labor and management of American industry can be brought about if every year the entire subject is to be opened up by non-American influences. In time this truth will be borne home to the American workers."

AFFAIRS IN TURKEY AND ARMENIA.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask unanimous consent that the Secretary may read an article appearing in the Washington Post of Thursday, October 16—yesterday morning—entitled "Turkish pact waits." After the reading I desire to make a few brief comments upon the article.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

"TURKISH PACT WAITS—POWERS WANT WILSON TO AGREE ON ARMENIA AND DARDANELLES—SYRIA A BONE OF CONTENTION—ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND ITALY DISAGREE OVER DISPOSITION OF TERRITORY—PARTITION OF EMPIRE COMPLICATED BY SECRET TREATIES IN WHICH ALLIES PLAY FALSE TO ONE ANOTHER—SMYRNA, PROMISED TO ITALY, GIVEN TO GREECE—UNITED STATES THE CRUX IN THE CARVING WILSON POSTPONED.

"(By Ryley Grabber.)

"Among other matters awaiting President Wilson's attention is the partition of the Turkish Empire. The great powers are unable to move until they receive word from Washington. The treaty with Turkey can not be signed until Mr. Wilson gives the word. The partition of the Turkish Empire is the subject of one of the interesting secret chapters of the war. Secret diplomacy never had greater play than in the expected carving up of Turkey.

"STILL DECEIVING ONE ANOTHER.

"The European Governments fairly excelled themselves in the game of 'double crossing,' and some of them are still at it. The United States is now involved, and until it indicates what part of Turkey it will annex the other powers will continue their rivalries.

"The first treaty of the powers providing for the partition of Turkey was made by Great Britain, France, and Russia. The pourparlers began in March, 1915, but the treaty was not concluded until May, 1916.

"The now famous treaty of London had been made in April, 1915. It was signed by Sir Edward Grey, Jules Cambon, Marquis Imperiali, and Count Benckendorff. Article 9 of that treaty provides that 'France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean.'

"ITALY IGNORED IN 1916 TREATY.

"The other powers appear to have forgotten this treaty, for they concluded the treaty of May, 1916, without regard to Italy. The 1916 treaty carved up Turkey roughly as follows:

"To Great Britain: Direct administration of southern Mesopotamia, including Bagdad, Akri, and Kaiffa, and as a British zone of influence all the remainder of Mesopotamia.

"To France: Direct administration of all Syria, and as a zone of influence Adana, Sivas, Diarberkir, and tributary territory.

"To Russia: Constantinople and the Straits, with a part of southern Thrace, a stretch of the Asiatic coast adjacent to the straits, and the islands of the Sea of Marmora, Imbros, and Tenedos.

"ARRANGE FOR PALESTINE.

"Palestine was to be placed under an international régime. Special clauses disposed of Arabia, with advantages to Great Britain in securing communication between Egypt and Mesopotamia.

"In the fall of 1916 Italy became aware of this treaty. There was a meeting of the premiers at the little French town of St. Jean de Maurienne. It was a stormy session. The upshot was another treaty which admitted Italy to a share of the Turkish spoils.

"This Anglo-French-Italian treaty was made in 1917, after the United States had broken with Germany. All knowledge of it was kept from the United States. President Wilson said he knew nothing of it until he arrived in Paris.

"SMYRNA GIVEN TO ITALY.

"The treaty recognized the changes caused by Russia's collapse. Constantinople and the Straits were to be placed under an international régime. Italy was to have Smyrna under 'direct administration,' and for a zone of influence was to take over a territory north of Smyrna as far as the Gulf of Adramyti. The other powers retained their respective slices of Turkey.

"Then came the peace conference and President Wilson, abolition of secret treaties, self-determination, and all. There was a controversy over Fiume, and the Italian delegation temporarily withdrew. While they were absent the 'big three' sent for Premier Venizelos, of Greece, and told him to occupy Smyrna. Greece instantly moved, and her troops still occupy Smyrna.

"SECRET TREATY NULLIFIED.

"The three powers in control at that time in Paris—France, Great Britain, and the United States—nullified the secret treaty so far as it related to Smyrna. When the Italians returned to the peace conference they found it necessary to accept the fait accompli.

"But the powers are unable to agree among themselves concerning Turkey. France and Great Britain are at odds over

Syria, which Great Britain now thinks should be left to the disposal of the league of nations. The British delegates have led off in accepting the mandatory plan, and seem to be willing to do away with all treaty rights if the league of nations will promise in advance to give England the same territories under a mandate. France is skeptical and holds to the treaties. Italy leans to the French view.

"The question was not settled when President Wilson left Paris. He wished to have the United States take a mandate over Armenia and possibly over Constantinople, but he could not promise that the people and Congress would support him. Therefore he told his colleagues in the peace conference to postpone the partition of Turkey until he could consult American public opinion.

"The Allies have endeavored to agree among themselves and hasten the carving-up process, but no one of them is willing to assume the burden of governing Armenia, which is full of fighting tribes and lacking in natural resources. Without the Armenian and Dardanelles questions settled, the powers can not act. They must wait upon President Wilson.

"Hence Thanksgiving is almost here and the hungry powers have no Turkey."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President—

Mr. POMERENE rose.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do not want to yield the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. POMERENE. Oh, no.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. For what purpose does the Senator desire me to yield?

Mr. POMERENE. Simply to ask a question.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield.

Mr. POMERENE. The article which was just read, I believe, was presented by the Senator?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. It was presented by me.

Mr. POMERENE. Can the Senator advise us who wrote the article?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. No; I do not know who the employees of the Washington Post are. The article was clipped from the Washington Post of yesterday.

Mr. POMERENE. I understand it purports to have been written by Ryley Grannon, and I wondered if the Senator knows who he is?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. No; I do not; but the Senator can find out if he wants to.

Mr. POMERENE. I am trying to find out.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I have received a good many letters from people, mostly clergymen, who are very much interested in the Armenian question and who ask that something be done to protect the Armenian people from slaughter by the Turks. They state that the extermination of the Armenian race is threatened. Of course we know, or we have been informed through the press, that the British are rapidly withdrawing their forces from Armenia and the Caucasus and have requested this country to send from 100,000 to 200,000 men over there to take the place of the withdrawn British troops.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. There are not any undeveloped oil fields in Armenia or Turkey, then?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The article states that the President is very anxious that we should accept the mandate for Armenia, and, therefore, I assume there is no oil or anything else of use to this country there; but, Mr. President—

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an interruption?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do.

Mr. KING. Of course, the distinguished Senator from Idaho knows very much more about this subject than I do, and about the geography, the physical characteristics, and the resources of Armenia; but, if he will pardon me, there is oil in the northern part of Armenia and in the provinces contiguous to it which, perhaps, will come under the mandate of some Government.

Mr. BORAH. I have not any doubt, then, Mr. President, if oil is there that the situation will be taken care of by the English troops.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Whether there is oil there or not, there is trouble there.

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. And if anybody can furnish the oil to pour on the troubled waters, now is the time to bring the oil can around before we get in any deeper. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, on the calendar day of September 9, 1919, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] in behalf of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] presented Senate joint resolution 106, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The committee took it up for consideration a few days ago, but came to an impasse because certain information was desired as to what sort of a situation the President had created in relation to Armenia and Constantinople. A proposition was made in the committee to request that such information be given to the committee, so that it could act intelligently upon the joint resolution; but owing to representations made to the committee as to the inability of the President to transact business of that kind at this time the request for information was not pressed and the whole matter remains in abeyance. Meantime people continued to be agitated about what we are going to do to protect the Armenians, and all that I am able to answer them is that we have never declared war on Turkey, and the only way that I know to protect the Armenians is to send an army over there to fight off the Turks. Whether the people who desire to protect the Armenians want to compose that army themselves or want to send their wives' relatives on this pleasing mission I do not know; but here is the joint resolution introduced at the suggestion of the Senator from Mississippi:

"Whereas the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus and Armenia will leave the Armenian people helpless against the attacks of the Kurds and the Turks; and

"Whereas the American people are deeply and sincerely sympathetic with the aspirations of the Armenian people for liberty and peace and progress: Therefore be it

"Resolved, etc., That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use such military and naval forces of the United States as in his opinion may seem expedient for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in Armenia until the settlement of the affairs of that country has been completed by treaty between the nations.

"Sec. 2. There is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of \$—— to enable the President to execute the foregoing resolution."

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Yes.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I suppose the Senator from Connecticut noticed the statement of the President in one of the speeches that he made on his recent tour that if the league of nations were adopted no khaki-clad American—meaning American soldiers, I suppose—would ever again cross the Atlantic Ocean. That has been published quite extensively. I understand further that the suggestion in the article introduced by the Senator from Connecticut indicates that the troops that are spoken of in the joint resolution would be used in the performance of responsibilities assumed under the league of nations. In view of the fact that they are not going to cross the Atlantic, I suppose they will be sent by the way of the Pacific.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Well, I do not know, Mr. President; but that is one of the unsatisfactory conditions that exists. We do not know about many of these things, and we are not allowed to know, and, of course, under those circumstances we can not legislate intelligently.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] was discussing with me yesterday the question of the dispatch of 5,000 American troops that we understand have already sailed, night before last, to be used in Silesia. Nobody knows under what authority those troops are sent there. Of course, we know that they are ordered there by the Secretary of War or the Chief of Staff, or whoever is the proper military official to order them; but whether there is lawful authority, now that the war is over, for sending American troops to Armenia and to Silesia and to Siberia, nobody knows.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Certainly.

Mr. FALL. I will say to the Senator that I had expected to refer to this matter of troops being sent to Silesia during the debate that I presume will take place to-day upon other amendments to this proposed treaty, as I think we can obtain some information from Senators upon the floor, at any rate, as to the act itself, and as to the assumed authority for this act.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I only referred to that matter incidentally, Mr. President, because it was of a similar character to the authorization contained in the joint resolution to which

I referred, to wit, Senate joint resolution 106. If the President of the United States thinks it is necessary for Congress to authorize him to send troops to Armenia, I do not understand why a similar joint resolution would not be necessary to authorize the dispatch of our soldiers to Silesia. Of course, I understand that under the terms of the treaty—which, of course, is not yet in existence so far as this country is concerned—and, I assume, under the terms of the armistice, certain American troops can be lawfully employed in occupying, policing, and guarding certain territories there, and I understand there are forces on the Rhine, and possibly in the Saar Basin, or in other parts there, which may be legitimately there; but these other military movements that are now going on, now that the war is over, I think the Senate is entitled to information about. Certainly the Senate is entitled to it, I think, before it should be requested to pass joint resolutions authorizing the dispatch of such troops.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Certainly.

Mr. McCORMICK. I wanted to interrupt the Senator at that point to say that I have just been informed, and very reliably, that it is now contemplated to send a brigade to Lithuania, which I thought might interest the Senator in connection with what he is saying about these other military excursions.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Certainly.

Mr. KING. The Senator seems to make no distinction, if I interpreted his remarks correctly, between American troops being sent to Armenia and American troops being used upon the Continent of Europe and in fields where German troops are operating.

I agree with the Senator, if I understand the situation correctly, that not having declared war against Turkey, before we send troops to Turkey or to Armenia, no matter how laudable the object may be, there ought to be further information vouchsafed to the Senate. I certainly would not feel like voting for that joint resolution, much as I sympathize with the Armenians, until I understood a little more about conditions.

The Senator states that perhaps American troops are in the Saar Basin and upon the Rhine and perhaps in other parts of Europe where it is necessary to enforce the terms of the treaty against Germany. I submit to the Senator in all good faith would not the obligation rest upon the allied Governments, having set up Poland, to see that Germany, by military operations, did not infringe the orders of the allied powers, including the United States, with respect to Poland, and that Germany carried out the terms of the treaty? And if that question is answered affirmatively—and it seems to me it must be answered affirmatively—would it not then be a duty resting upon the allied and associated powers to use sufficient military force against Germany to see that the mandates of the allied and associated powers, as set forth in the treaty, are carried into effect?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I have no doubt that the Senator, when he starts, thinks he is going to ask a very simple and single question, but his mind is so resourceful and his brain so active that my experience is that by the time he has sat down my mental capacity is insufficient to restate all that he has stated and give him the answers, *seriatim*, to his questions. The gist of it, however, as I gather it, is this: Were we not bound, under the treaty, to furnish troops in certain places? To that I say no, because we have not yet ratified the treaty. Any obligations that we are under now, as I understand, to furnish troops over there are such as were created by the armistice, or such as the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy has under the war powers, by virtue of our recognition of the existence of a state of war between ourselves and the Central Powers.

However that may be, this dispatch of troops is in progress. Neither we, who have to provide for their payment and the maintenance of the Army, nor the public know anything about what else is contemplated. We are ignorant of why these military movements are going on.

Now, I am not rash enough to say that it is illegal, because I do not know. It is wise not to express an opinion upon an important matter of that kind—the use of our military forces in troublous times like these—unless one speaks by the card. When you are only able to get at the facts from hour to hour, as dispatches appear in the public press in regard to the sending of troops hither and thither to foreign lands upon unknown missions, of course, without knowing the object for which they are dispatched, you can not well express a trustworthy opinion as to whether they are authorized or not.

Of course, we all know that this Government always has, whenever there was danger to American citizens or American property in any foreign land, felt that our citizens were entitled to the protection of our flag; and we have always landed troops—marines or other kinds of troops or sailors—to protect any American citizens in jeopardy or their property. That is a lawful exercise of our military power. It may be that the 5,000 men who were dispatched to Silesia are sent there to protect American citizens. It may be that the administration or the War Department have some theory that technically the status of war which we declared to exist between ourselves and the Central Powers a year or two ago still exists, although actually it does not, and therefore that they have all the war powers that they ever had. Now, if the dispatch of these troops to Silesia, or the contemplated dispatch, the requested authorization for the dispatch of troops to Armenia, is a legitimate exercise of the conduct of the war against the Central Powers, I have nothing to say about its being authorized; but the Congress and the country, who are quite as much concerned in this matter as the administration, are kept in ignorance about it.

It may be wise that we should be kept in ignorance. I do not know. I know that is our state of mind; and the condition is such at present that even on bills and joint resolutions introduced at the request of the administration itself, when we ask why the authority is needed and what the troops are to do, we can not press the matter and get the information.

I have nothing further to suggest about this Armenian matter. I do think, however, that a resolution should be adopted by this body, and I hope it will be, calling for information about why troops are being sent to Silesia and why they are sent to other places. I think we are fairly entitled to it, in view of intimations and assertions such as are contained in the article from the Washington Post, which has just been read by the Secretary, in relation to some sort of an understanding between our peace commissioners at the peace conference and the peace commissioners of our associated powers, in view of the fact that there seems to have been some sort of an understanding about what we should do in Armenia and Anatolia and Constantinople, or what it was recommended that we should do, and in view of the statement in this article that it is delaying the confirmation of the proposed Bulgarian and Turkish treaties. These matters are all so interrelated that we can not act intelligently upon one without knowing the contents of the entire proposition.

They are all interwoven, Mr. President. This whole situation in Asia Minor is interwoven with the very treaty we are considering. We are told that the treaty with Turkey, to which we have to be a party, will be presented to us after this treaty shall have been ratified, possibly, though I hope that this treaty will not be ratified. We have done whatever was required by this treaty without knowing whether it coincides with the other treaty or with what we would like to do about the other treaty, or whether the treaties with Bulgaria, Turkey, and Germany, when they are all ratified, will produce a situation we approve of, or whether we are being led step by step in the dark, without proper information, to ratify one treaty which may create a status from which we can not recede, although we would like to, and by reason of which we will be compelled to take the next step, which we would not have taken if we could have foreseen it.

We are a coordinate branch of the treaty-making power, Mr. President. There is a situation in Europe, Asia, and Africa which presents a composite scheme, and there is a plan in somebody's mind, or in the mind of some sets of people, that after these different parts are fitted together you will see a picture that is supposed to be harmonious and understandable; and we are handed the head or the tail or the trunk of the animal and are told, "Ratify that, and afterwards we will hand you the trimmings." I would like to see the picture of the whole animal before I say whether I like it or not; and I think, as a coordinate branch of the treaty-making power, we are entitled to know what the situation is that it is desired to produce. No one can act intelligently upon this thing unless he does know it.

Our partner in this treaty-making business knows the whole proposition. We are considering this treaty in open executive session, Mr. President, because it is no ordinary treaty. It is a document wrought under the tense and abnormal psychology which pervades all the nations of the world as a natural consequence of the tremendous crisis through which we have passed, and we are considering it in open executive session because we think all the people of this country—and of other countries, too, for that matter—should know why we approve or disapprove of the particular features of the treaty. But we do not get the necessary information from our partner,

who knows the whole of it. For myself, I do not think it is fair to this branch of the treaty-making power, and I do not think that it is fair to the country, Mr. President.

I hope somebody will introduce a resolution to find out what the proposition is in Armenia; how far we have been committed, if at all, by the President, who has the authority to initiate agreements, at least; and I hope that some information concerning the dispatch of our armies to these various parts of the world will be called for by resolution of the Senate.

AMERICAN TROOPS FOR SILESIA.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, like the Senator from Connecticut, I have been disturbed at the news which reached us yesterday or the day before concerning the dispatch of troops abroad, and, like the Senator from Connecticut, I have been exceedingly anxious to know upon what authority they have been sent and for what purpose.

Again, like the Senator from Connecticut, I am somewhat uncertain as to the authority, and I do not venture at this time to express an opinion. But, concerned as I was, I called at the War Department yesterday morning to ascertain what I could regarding the expedition which has started for Silesia. I conversed with the Assistant Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff in the absence of the Secretary of War himself. I learned that the expedition, as the Senator from Connecticut stated, consists in the aggregate of about 5,000 men—the Fifth and the Fiftieth Regiments of Infantry and suitable detachments of Medical Corps and quartermaster troops. It is bound, in the first instance, for Coblenz, to be held there pending the time when direction shall be given it by some higher authority to proceed to Silesia, and there participate in the policing of the plebiscite. This American force, I was given to understand, is to form part of a force contributed by at least two other nations, the aggregate allied force of this kind to consist of something like 18,000 men. The time at which the force is expected to arrive in Silesia is entirely uncertain. The duration of its service there is entirely uncertain.

I was given to understand that the dispatch of this force is due to some arrangement made by the American peace commission in Paris, or some agreement made by them with the representatives of other powers, to the effect that America would join with the other powers in policing this far-away country while the plebiscite is being held.

It was intimated also that the power or authority for sending this force springs from the fact that we are still technically at war with Germany. I do not attempt to express an opinion upon that interpretation of the power of the Executive. I am not aware that there is anything in the terms of the armistice affecting Silesia at all.

I am in full sympathy with the policy of the department and the action of the administration in maintaining troops on the Rhine, in the so-called German occupied territory, in conformance with the terms of the armistice itself entered into on November 11. I notice that in the treaty pending before us there is a provision relating to Silesia, according to which, if it is ratified by this country, we may be called upon, in effect, to assist in policing Silesia. One of the several amendments offered by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL], had it been adopted, would have resulted in withdrawing the United States from that obligation.

Mr. NELSON. May I ask the Senator a question? Is the Senator opposed to the establishment of the Government of Poland?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not at all.

Mr. NELSON. As proposed in the treaty?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not at all.

Mr. NELSON. Is not Silesia to be a part of it?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do not know.

Mr. NELSON. Is not Silesia part of the country that is to compose Poland, and is it not to be determined by a plebiscite?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I can not tell whether it is to go to Poland until the plebiscite is taken.

Mr. NELSON. No one will know until then; and they simply want our troops there to see that there is fair plebiscite, that is all, to police it. Unless the Senator is opposed to the establishment of the Government of Poland, as provided for in the treaty, he ought not to object to this action by our Government.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota, I think, is quite unwarranted in drawing that conclusion. I, of course, am in favor of the establishment of an independent Polish State. But, like the Senator from Connecticut, I would like to know, as a Member of the Senate, and I may say as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, charged at this time with most important legislation looking to the permanent

reorganization of the Regular Army, what commitments our administration has made for the use of American troops the world over. How can we legislate on the matter of the size of the Regular Army until we know how the Army is to be used and where?

If the intimation made by the Senator from Illinois a few moments ago is true, or reasonably accurate, that some other expedition is to be sent to Lithuania, it has a most distinct bearing upon our military policy. It is not a very effective way for a Government to handle its foreign affairs when the result is that the Congress is kept in the dark to such an extent that it can not legislate intelligently and in a constructive manner.

My purpose in going to the War Department to request the information about this expedition was first to ascertain its size, the approximate cost, if I could find that out, how long it would be absent upon this duty, what its purpose was, and incidentally what authority there was for sending it.

Mr. NELSON. Is the Senator opposed to the purpose to have a plebiscite there in connection with the establishment of the State of Poland?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am not competent to answer that question. I do not know anything about Silesia and Poland in the present situation, and I am not permitted to know.

Mr. NELSON. Is not the treaty before the Senator?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The treaty does not tell me what are the internal conditions of Silesia.

Mr. NELSON. The treaty tells the Senator that there is to be a plebiscite there.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Very true; but I have not been informed, and I think no other Senator has been informed, whether or not it will take the participation of 5,000 American troops to see that the count is an honest one. All I want is information, and I think the Senate is entitled to information. I am not in favor of acting for or against any projected policy until we have information. That is all I have been asking.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I should like to ask the Senator from Minnesota, in view of the much more intimate interest that the great allied European nations, victorious in this war, have in the readjustment of the internal affairs of Europe, and in view of the enormous assistance that this country has already rendered them in this war, does he not think that it would be equitable and fair, knowing that they have the power to do so, to provide that they should supervise the plebiscite in Silesia, and that the United States should be relieved of that duty?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, if I am not taken from the floor, I will yield to the Senator from Minnesota to reply to the question addressed to him by the Senator from Washington. Perhaps the Senator from Minnesota will be content to answer it later. I shall take but a moment further.

Mr. NELSON. I do not think it needs an answer. The Senator can go on.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I understood that the Senator from Minnesota had risen to ask permission to interrupt me.

Mr. NELSON. On reflection I concluded that it did not need any answer.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator says he wants information, and that he went to the War Department to get information. Did they refuse him information?

Mr. WADSWORTH. So far as the information went, I got it; but it did not tell me about Silesian prospects.

Mr. OVERMAN. Did they decline to give the Senator any information he asked for?

Mr. WADSWORTH. They did not decline to give me anything they knew about it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, a point of order. What is the pending motion? I have been waiting for an hour to present a paper. May I have the opportunity now?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Arizona raises the question of order.

Mr. ASHURST. Oh, no; I merely ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the address by the Secretary of Labor at the opening of the Industrial Conference.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I believe I have the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is of the opinion that the Senator from Arizona can not present the paper so long as the Senator from New York has the floor, unless he desires to take the Senator from New York from the floor by a point of order.

Mr. ASHURST. I do not desire to take the Senator from New York from the floor, but I have been waiting for an hour to present the paper.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New York is entitled to the floor and will proceed.

Mr. PENROSE. I think the Senator from New York has concluded to permit the Senator from Arizona to intrude upon the proceedings, but some of us would be a little better satisfied if we knew what the document is that he wants to have printed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is of the opinion that at the present moment the document can not be received.

Mr. PENROSE. I think the ruling is a wise one.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; I yield for a question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Will the Senator state what information he sought at the War Department?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I sought information as to the strength of the expedition and its composition, its destination, and its purpose, the authority under which it was sent, and the probable duration of its service abroad; and I have related to the Senate all that I found out at the War Department. But the thing that to me is unsatisfactory is the fact that we at this late date learn that by some agreement made by the American peace commission since the armistice was signed we are committed to the sending of troops to Silesia. We have never had any information to that effect, as I understand it, here in the Congress. It has some bearing upon the appropriations which we shall make for the support of the Army. It has some bearing upon the size of the Army and the military policy, and I am wondering—

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President—

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I just finish my statement, and then I will yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania? I am wondering whether there are any other commitments, and I think we have a right to know. That is all. As to that I did not get any information.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

Mr. PENROSE. I should like to ask the Senator from New York whether he suspects the agreement was made by Mr. Hoover or Col. House?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. PENROSE. I was told that possibly that distinguished military genius, Mr. Hoover, might have made it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Before the Senator from New York takes his seat, let me ask him if he has any doubt as to the power of the President to order troops to Coblenz, where troops are already stationed?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; Mr. President, I have not.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Does the Senator have any doubt as to the power of the President, in concurrence with the other nations associated with us in this war, to send troops into Germany under certain conditions?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Under certain conditions, as laid down in the armistice, but, as I understand it, there is no reference to Silesia or the policing of Silesia in the terms of the armistice. The only reference to Silesia and the policing of Silesia is contained in one of the articles of the treaty which this country has not yet ratified.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. This country has not yet ratified the treaty, but the Senate has already declined to amend the provision providing for American troops in Silesia.

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I ask, does the Senator from Nebraska contend that that confers authority?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; but "the Senator from Nebraska" takes the position that the President has the power at this time to order troops to reinforce the other troops already in Coblenz, and by the time those troops get there it will be decided whether or not they will go farther.

The Senator from New York well knows that the purpose of this country is to stand by its object to give Poland an existence as a nation. The Senator from New York must realize that a part of that purpose contemplates a plebiscite in upper Silesia. The Senator must know also that to hold that plebiscite with German soldiers present would be a farce, and that the only way of having the plebiscite is to have troops there representing the associated and allied countries for that purpose. Unless the Senator is opposed to that purpose, he ought not to criticize it. The Senator must know also that Germany has already agreed to pay the expenses of those troops, and

therefore they are not sent there at the expense of the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska beclouds the issue, so far as I am concerned, by this constant reference to the desire of the United States, admitted, for the establishment of an independent Polish State. I do want to see an independent Polish State established; but in its establishment I think the Senate of the United States is entitled to information as to what obligations our administration has entered into. The Senate had no information about this expedition until it read it in the newspapers yesterday. The Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate had no information about it until it read it in the newspapers yesterday. That is not the way to treat the Senate. We ought to have the information. We ought to be told here and now what our commitments are in a military sense. Is this the first one and is it the last one? If it is not the last one, what other commitments have we entered into? That is all I have been contending for. I do not pretend to pass upon the authority. I can not command a knowledge of the Constitution and of the law which would equip me to pass upon the authority.

This action is somewhat unusual at this time, prior to the ratification of the treaty and subsequent to entering into the terms of the armistice, which terms contain nothing about Silesia.

If it is a military necessity, if it is a necessity from the standpoint of humanitarianism that American troops shall join with British and French troops in policing that territory to stop bloodshed, possibly it is justified, but I want to know the character of the commitment which our representatives entered into at Paris, and whether or not there are any other commitments.

Mr. BRANDEGEE and Mr. HITCHCOCK addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New York yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield first to the Senator from Connecticut, who rose first.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Will the Senator be kind enough to state what Gen. March, if he was the official whom the Senator saw, claimed was his authority?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The intimation that was given to me by both the officials was that we are still technically at war with Germany.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Was that all?

Mr. WADSWORTH. And that under the war power the President could send troops of the United States.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Was that all?

Mr. WADSWORTH. An intimation was made that the Senate had taken unfavorable action upon an amendment which would have withdrawn the United States from the policing of Silesia.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What inference was drawn from the action of the Senate on an amendment of a different nature?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It was not a matter relating to the purpose of this expedition. I suppose the inference was that the department or the administration was justified in sending troops, in view of the vote of the Senate upon that amendment. I can not agree to that inference.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I simply rise to say that this puts me in mind of an incident we had a few days ago about the landing of a few troops on the Dalmatian coast. Great complaint was made then that we were making war on Italy. A resolution was introduced, and when we got the smoke cleared off all it amounted to was that the Italians had requested a few of our marines to go ashore there to keep order. It seemed to me then, as it turned out afterwards, to be a tempest in a teapot, and this is of a kindred nature.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I indorse most emphatically what the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] says. This attack resembles very much the same purpose that was behind the attack upon the administration with regard to the landing of marines at Trau. It resembles also those other attacks upon the administration which have taken the form of a repetition of the vaguest and most ridiculous rumors, repeated here on the authority and dignity of a United States Senator, that the President of the United States had received a million dollars' worth of gifts in Europe, and other statements of that character, indicating a purpose to attack the administration instead of discussing the treaty now before the Senate.

Mr. President, what are the facts in this case? The Senate has before it a treaty and all the votes so far have indicated that the Senate will in some form ratify the treaty; that textually no change will be made in it; that the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Senate propose to ratify the treaty

without dotting an "i" or crossing a "t"; that whatever, if anything, is done in the way of qualification will be done in the way of reservations.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. If the Senator will permit me to proceed, I will yield in a moment.

Under those circumstances what do we find? In the annex, on page 129, it is stated that within 15 days from the coming into force of the present treaty, the German troops in the plebiscite area of Silesia shall be withdrawn and the troops of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy shall enter. It is very evident that we can not send troops from here to Silesia within 15 days after the ratification of the treaty. If they are to be sent there they have to be sent from some near-by post. The United States already has troops along the Rhine. What is more reasonable than that the War Department, already seeing what the Senate of the United States proposes to do, should move to those American camps that now exist along the Rhine in Germany sufficient troops so that when the Senate ratifies the treaty that obligation under the treaty may be carried out?

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. In just a moment.

The assertion or assumption that this is a matter done at the expense of the United States Treasury is unwarranted. The expenses of these troops are to be paid for by Germany. It is a part of the plan proposed in the treaty. It does not involve a national appropriation, and I can not understand the purpose of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs and other Senators, who are committed against the treaty and do not propose to vote for it in any form, in constantly interfering with the rest of the Senate that do propose to ratify the treaty. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Sergeant at Arms and the Doorkeeper will remove from the galleries those who disturb the Senate by manifestations of approval. It is against the rules of the Senate.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, we have not resigned our places in the Senate. We have our views which we express. I am opposed to the treaty for the very reason that when it is ratified, this thing which we are now discussing will be accentuated to such a marked degree that our troops will be constantly crossing the ocean for the purpose of performing service in Europe. That is the reason why I am opposed to it. It is for the very reason which is now the subject of discussion.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator entertains, no doubt honestly, that opinion, and I entertain just as honestly the conviction that if the treaty is ratified and the league of nations goes into effect the result will be a reduction of armament, the result will be the preservation of peace, just as when the Monroe doctrine was declared by the United States. That doctrine involved the possibility of our sending troops, if necessary, to South America or Central America to prevent any European country planting itself on the North or South American continents or in Central America. That was the threat of the United States; but we never sent any troops there; we never appropriated any money to carry out the Monroe doctrine. The Monroe doctrine was sufficient of its own strength to prevent war; to prevent aggression on the Western Hemisphere. So I believe, even if the Senator from Idaho does not believe, when all the nations of the world practically unite in a statement that there shall be no wars of conquest anywhere in the world under penalty of suppression by the united action of the nations, that that will end wars of conquest, just as the Monroe doctrine ended wars of conquest which were threatened against the Western Hemisphere.

But I say, Mr. President, that we have before us a treaty, which the majority of the Senate have shown very definitely that they want to ratify in some form. The only question practically remaining before the Senate at the present time is whether those who want to ratify the treaty without any qualifications can in some way unite with those who want to ratify it with certain qualifications.

Mr. LENROOT, Mr. SHIELDS, and Mr. HALE addressed the Chair.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. Does not the Senator from Nebraska know that the rejection of the amendments does not warrant the assumption, either upon the part of the Senator from Nebraska or of the War Department, that the Senate proposes to ratify the treaty with any obligation to send troops to Silesia or anywhere else upon the face of the earth? Does not the Senator know that the treaty can not be ratified with any such obligation imposed upon the United States?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I do not know that, Mr. President.

Mr. LENROOT. Well, the Senator will find it out later if he does not know it now.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. My conviction is—and the ideas which I have had have been quite justified up to the present time—that the Senate will not adjourn without the ratification of the treaty. I do not believe that the Senate of the United States is going to back out of this war before it is finished; and the war is not finished until the German troops are out of Silesia and are supplanted by troops of the allied and associated nations, just as they have been supplanted by those troops upon the Rhine.

Senators might defeat the treaty, but if they do the war powers of the President will still continue. Under those war powers he can send those troops into Germany, be that understood.

I say, Mr. President, that when Senators who have already announced that they are going to vote against the treaty under any and all circumstances get up here and plead for and profess a desire to have more light about some other treaty and prod the administration to give out information that they want for some purpose they are not doing it for the purpose of a fair consideration of the treaty, but solely and only for the purpose of embarrassing the administration.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President—

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. SHIELDS. I merely desired to ask the Senator a question; but, premising that by a reference to the last utterance of the Senator, I have not been able to secure my own consent to an unqualified ratification of the treaty. I am in favor of amendments, if necessary, or reservations—it is immaterial to me which, so that we secure proper modifications. I can see no objection, however, to any Senator opposing the execution of the treaty before it is ratified.

The question, however, which I rose to ask is this: The Senator said that at the present time our Army and Navy are being used, as I understood him, in Europe. I should like to call his attention to the fact that there is a bill now pending before the Committee on Military Affairs, which is favored by the administration, giving the President the automatic power, without further legislation, under the machinery used in the late war, to conscript American soldiers for foreign service or any other service. I understand that such a bill is now pending before the Military Affairs Committee, and I should like to know what the object of it is, if it is not to send our soldiers to foreign countries to enforce any obligation which may be assumed in this treaty, for we have no need for an Army of 500,000 men at home. There is no threat or prospect of war other than may come upon us as a member of the league of nations.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am not advised as to what the administration has favored in reference to that matter; I have not been consulted, but I should hesitate very long before voting for a bill such as the Senator from Tennessee describes.

Neither do I suppose, Mr. President, that this country can immediately reduce its Army. Surely the Senator from Tennessee would not quote me as saying that, for I have never claimed it. The very terms of the covenant of the league of nations provide for a gradual reduction of armaments simultaneously by all the nations in the league under the advice of the council. Manifestly that can not be done suddenly. First, the council must canvass the matter and consult all of the nations, at least all that are members of the council. The nations represented on the council, nine in number, must unanimously agree upon the form and extent of the reduction. That takes time. Then, what the council recommends by its unanimous advice must be accepted by the various nations concerned. So that in the very nature of things disarmament, which we believe will be brought about under the league of nations, must be gradual and must come by united action in the council. That, in the very nature of things, is the only way disarmament can ever come.

Mr. SHIELDS. Is that disarmament to be enforced by troops that are to be raised by conscription?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, the Senator from Tennessee, I am sure, will recognize the truth of my statement when I say that no recommendation even for disarmament can be had until the representative of the United States and the representatives of the other members of the executive council unite in action. It could not occur then, so far as the United States is concerned, until Congress passes upon it and acquiesces in it. So I say that the disarmament of which I speak necessarily must come gradually and harmoniously and by the united action of all of the nine nations represented on the executive council.

I say again that if Senators think they can defeat the ratification of the treaty, they nevertheless leave the President with the war powers. He has sent troops, under the war powers,

to Coblenz, and there is no reason why he could not send them farther if the war powers continue. The way to take away the war powers from the President of the United States is to ratify this treaty and bring about peace. A ratification of the treaty means a carrying out of the purposes of the war, one of which was to create the Kingdom of Poland. In creating the Kingdom of Poland, this little territory of Silesia, which contains a mixed population, must be allowed to vote as to which country it desires to belong. Silesia being required to vote, it is absolutely necessary that the great nations concerned should occupy it with a small military force and move the Germans out for the time being. That is provided for in the treaty; it is the inevitable proceeding; and it is not done at the expense of the United States, as the Senator from New York seems to imply, but it is done at the expense of Germany.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I should like to suggest to the Senator from Nebraska that the purpose of sending troops there is to avoid any possible cause for sending troops there at some other time later on. The purpose is to conduct a peaceable plebiscite, so that the difficulties will be settled, and therefore there will be no occasion for trouble hereafter.

In reference to the remark of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS], I happen to be a member of the Committee on Military Affairs; I think I ought to know something about the measures pending before that committee, and I know of no such measure as he has indicated. The propositions before the committee are for the reorganization of the Army on a peace basis, and there is no plan contemplated to send troops to foreign countries.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. OVERMAN. I understand that there is no provision in the bill for drafting anybody.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Oh, yes; there is, if you will turn to the bottom of page 40—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If you will turn to the bottom of page 40 of the bill, you will find a provision that in case of war the act of 1916 and all of the other drafting acts which we passed because of the exigencies of the present war shall be used for the purpose of drafting men.

Mr. OVERMAN. But that is only in case of war.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes; but it is in the bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is not proposed to change the present method of raising an army in case an army is to be raised, but there is no provision in the bill which contemplates sending American troops into foreign countries unless in case of war.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. FALL. I understood the Senator to say that the purpose of sending troops to Silesia is to provide for a quiet election, and, I presume, to protect the electoral franchise in order to insure that a proper result is obtained. Does it not remind the Senator of an argument that has been used here repeatedly and confuted successfully by his colleagues? The very purpose of the proposal to send troops into the Southern States was that which is now advocated by the Senator in sending troops into Silesia, as I understand. Under the force bill it was proposed to send troops to make certain that in some districts in some of the Southern States an expression of opinion was properly obtained, and the Senator certainly, although not a member of the body at that time, was in full sympathy with the arguments of his colleagues against it. I am astonished to see the Senator from Florida now advocating exactly the same principle which he and his colleagues so successfully fought in order that they might maintain what they claimed to be white supremacy in the United States of America.

Mr. FLETCHER. I do not think there is any analogy whatever between the two conditions.

Mr. FALL. I ask the Senator if the purpose, as he announced it, is not to insure a quiet election and a full exercise of the electoral franchise and a proper return of the ballots after the votes are cast?

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes. Here is a treaty, an agreement reached between contending belligerents in this war, and one of the terms of the treaty is that there shall be a plebiscite in a portion of Poland to determine the preference of the people there residing. It is perfectly proper and legitimate that the parties entering into this agreement, coming to these terms, should see that they are fully and properly carried out, and that is the method agreed on for carrying it out; that is all.

Mr. FALL. Will the Senator yield for a moment for another question?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield the floor.

Mr. FALL. In reference to the Senator's statement that he saw no analogy between the provision of the treaty under discussion and the force bill referred to by me, and his allusion to the fact that this was a treaty provision, I desire to say that the so-called force bill, Mr. President, was offered under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which, as the Senator will recollect, provides that there shall be no discrimination in the matter of the electoral franchise on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In that case there was a constitutional provision; in this case there is a treaty provision not yet adopted.

Mr. FLETCHER. Precisely. The Constitution provides also that the States shall conduct their own elections; the right of suffrage is a State matter entirely, and the manner of conducting elections is a State matter. So there was no occasion for a measure of the kind referred to by the Senator; but, as I have said, that has no relation whatever to the present question.

ADDRESS OF SECRETARY WILSON.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Secretary of Labor Wilson at the opening of the Industrial Conference in this city on the 6th of October. It is a very short address, and I am sure will be interesting to Senators.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I beg the Senator's pardon. My attention was diverted, and I should like to know what is the nature of the document.

Mr. ASHURST. In response to the interrogatory propounded by my friend, the Senator from Pennsylvania, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of the speech delivered by Secretary of Labor Wilson at the opening of the Industrial Conference in this city on the 6th instant. I wish the Senator to indulge me long enough to state that, as he will recall, when I first came to the Senate some seven or eight years ago I was a very great sinner in the matter of introducing matters into the RECORD.

Mr. PENROSE. Yes; I know the Senator was.

Mr. ASHURST. But I believe three years have elapsed since I have asked to have anything printed in the RECORD in the way of letters and telegrams, with one or two exceptions. I have abandoned that sin; but I notice other Senators have taken my place. However, I do ask to be indulged in this instance.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Arizona?

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, in view of the long abstention of the Senator from the habit, and the fact that it is doubtless an illuminating document, I shall not object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair hears no objection, and the address will be printed in the RECORD.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. W. B. WILSON, SECRETARY OF LABOR, AT THE OPENING OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 6, 1919.

"Ladies and gentlemen of the conference, I regret very much that the illness of the President has made it impossible for him to be here to greet you. I had hoped that he might be here in person to bid you welcome, and by the clarity of his vision, the soundness of his judgment, and the felicity of his speech have assisted you toward the accomplishment of the great purpose he had in mind when this conference was called.

"The whole world is face to face with the most difficult peacetime problem it has ever had to deal with. The wastage of war has been tremendous. There has not only been the loss of millions of lives and the permanent disability of other millions of people, but there has been an extraordinary destruction of the material resources of the world. The power of replacement of the things destroyed has been seriously impeded by the conditions that constitute the aftermath of war. Industry has been disarranged by the processes of readjustment to the needs of peace, and commerce has been handicapped by insufficient shipping facilities, foreign exchange, and domestic uncertainty. Many countries are without stable government, and financial inflation in all of the commercial countries of the world has played havoc with the relative values of money, wages, and commodities.

"The effect of these things has been reflected in the high cost of living and the consequent demand for higher wage rates to meet the increasing burden of the family budget. Yet increases in the wage rate do not always give relief. There are but two ways by which the general standard of living of the wage-workers can be improved. One is by increased productivity,

making more material available for wages. The other is by taking the means of increased compensation out of the profits of the employer. If wages are increased and profits remain the same, the burden is passed on to the consuming public in the form of an increased cost of living, and comes back in that form to the wageworker himself. No portion of improved living standards can come out of the profits of the employers unless there is profiteering.

"And what gives the opportunity for profiteering? The very conditions that we are confronted with to-day—the destructive agencies of war, the disarrangement of industry and commerce, and the unrest and high nervous tension of our people, resulting in a shortage of supply as compared with demand. The whole world is interested in returning to the highest productive efficiency, having due regard to the health, safety, and opportunities for rest, recreation, and improvement of those who toil. The more productive we are the sooner we will replace the wastage of war, return to normal price levels, and abolish the opportunity for profiteering. There can be no profiteering where the production is ample to meet the needs of the people of the world if there is a free flow of material from producer to consumer. It is only where the production is not sufficient for the needs of the people, or, when sufficient, where artificial obstructions impede proper distribution that there is any possibility of profiteering. Anything that restricts the highest efficiency commensurate with the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the workers tends to retard the progress of the country as a whole.

"For that reason we are all interested in the maintenance of industrial peace, but there can be no permanent industrial peace that is not based upon industrial justice. Just as international wrongs may accumulate to the point where war is necessary to bring relief, so industrial wrongs may make industrial conflict preferable to the further endurance of the wrongs imposed. Nor is it sufficient that either side to an industrial controversy should be the sole judge of what constitutes justice. The means must exist by which all men may know that justice has been secured. An imaginary wrong has all the force and effect of reality until it is shown that it is only imaginary. We have found ways of regulating all the other relations of mankind. Surely human intelligence can devise some acceptable method of adjusting the relationship between employer and employee.

"The right of any man to cease working for another for any reason that is sufficient to himself is the basic element of human liberty. The right of any person to refuse to operate his plant at any time he desires to do so is the exercise of a property right guaranteed by the Constitution. It does not follow that because these rights exist it is necessary to exercise them. They must nevertheless be safeguarded. Having done that and having devised the machinery by which justice can be secured and by which everybody at interest has the opportunity of knowing that justice has been secured, it is not likely that the right to cease work will be exercised by sufficient numbers, or the right to cease operating industrial plants will be carried to such an extent as to seriously affect the welfare of the balance of the people.

"There have been a number of great epochs in the spiritual and material advancement of mankind. The laws of justice laid down by Moses and the laws of love laid down by Christ stand out as the greatest of all ideals. Upon your shoulders rests a splendid responsibility. Before you the doors of opportunity are open, not to the acquisition of wealth or the attainment of fame, but to the greater achievement, the establishment of institutions that will promote the welfare of mankind down through the ages. If you, in the abundance of your combined wisdom and experience, can produce an acceptable document of this character, the results of your work will find a place in the hearts of men like the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Emancipation Proclamation.

"In the name of the President of the United States and in his behalf, I wish you Godspeed in the great task before you."

Mr. FLETCHER. I call for the regular order.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The regular order is the presentation of petitions and memorials.

FOREIGN SECURITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. BORAH. I offer a resolution at this time, and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I hope the Senator will give us a chance to have one-half hour more of morning business.

Mr. BORAH. This is morning business. If it leads to any debate, I will withdraw it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 214) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, requested to send to the Senate such facts or data as may be in his possession or available showing:

1. The amount of foreign bonds or securities which have been placed in this country since August 1, 1914, price paid, and the interest they bear.

2. By whom said bonds or securities were placed and by whom held at the present time.

3. The kind of securities or bonds and from what countries.

4. All data and facts, in other words, relating to the placing of foreign securities in this country since August 1, 1914, the nature of the securities, and by whom held, now available or within the possession of the Treasury Department.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I was out of the Chamber momentarily. I did not hear to whom the resolution was addressed.

Mr. BORAH. To the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Has the Secretary of the Treasury information concerning these matters?

Mr. BORAH. He has some information, and I only call for whatever he has.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. As to the holding of European securities in the United States?

Mr. BORAH. I say, I only call for whatever information he has. Of course, necessarily he must have some information, because these bonds have been located. I am going to call on another department later.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator is calling for information as to the holding of bonds in private hands in the United States?

Mr. BORAH. Yes; foreign securities.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. And the Senator says the Secretary of the Treasury knows where they are held?

Mr. BORAH. I assume he must have some knowledge of them.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Under what provision of the law?

Mr. BORAH. I simply assume that by reason of the fact that the owners must be paying taxes on them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not any objection. I do not know whether the Secretary of the Treasury has the information.

Mr. BORAH. I have put it in such language that, if he has not the data and information, it will not be embarrassing for him. I call for such information as he has.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS—WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, as there have been a number of telegrams and petitions presented here this morning in regard to the treaty of peace with Germany, I desire to call attention to a very large number of American citizens who are taking some steps regarding this matter, and in my judgment there is no element of our citizenship which ought to have more influence regarding this subject than the one to which I refer.

In this morning's New York Times I observe this article:

WOMEN JOIN LEAGUE FIGHT—COMMITTEE LAUNCHES NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN FOR RATIFICATION.

A nation-wide campaign for the immediate ratification of the peace treaty was launched yesterday at a meeting of the Women's Non-Partisan Committee for the League of Nations, held at the Bijou Theater. Announcement was made that arrangements are being made whereby thousands of women who desire to see the Senate pass favorably on the treaty may have an opportunity of signing monster petitions to be sent to the Senate.

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, chairman of the executive committee, said that the campaign is intended to last 10 days, and that telegrams had been sent to representative women in all the States asking their co-operation. The speakers at the meeting yesterday included Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Katherine M. Davis, Mrs. Raymond Brown, and Mrs. Harriman.

"The greatest question before the American people is the decision concerning the league of nations," says the appeal sent out by the committee. "Its adoption is the hope of the world. Women are part of the American people and the people's opinion is our sovereign. Therefore we appeal to the women of America to make known their conclusions concerning the league of nations at Washington."

"If Senator LODGE had gone to Paris and brought back with him a covenant, we who are not partisans would have supported the covenant of LODGE just as we support the covenant President Wilson brought back," Mrs. Catt declared. "It is not a perfect instrument, and if it were perfect we would not know it."

There is no more bitterness expressed to-day toward the covenant, said Mrs. Catt, than there was expressed against the Constitution when it was up for adoption.

Mr. President, it seems to me that in a crisis of this kind, when we are at the conclusion, we hope, of the greatest war of the world's history, and when we are facing problems which must be of a vital character to our country, we ought not to ignore this expression of the earnest desire of this great mass

of American citizenship. I think this is an appropriate time to call attention to the fact that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting them the right of suffrage has not been ratified. It seems to be assumed that this amendment to the Constitution will have been ratified before the next presidential election, but I want to say that it is not at all certain at this time that that will be the case.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I do not like to interrupt the Senator, but we only have 20 minutes more for morning business. If the Senator wishes to make any extended remarks, I must ask for the regular order. We have some reports of committees and other matters to present.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Georgia make the point of order?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not make the point.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Connecticut will state his point of order.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The point of order is that the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] demanded the regular order, which was ordered, and other Senators were shut off from talking; and immediately the Senator from New Mexico has the privilege of talking, although the rest of us are denied it.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, it seems to me that the remarks of the Senator come with poor grace from him, because we all know that he this morning, out of order and with unanimous consent, occupied about an hour of the time of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair did not understand that the Senator from Florida had made a point of order.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Why, Mr. President, I did address the Senate by unanimous consent, and then the Senator from Florida demanded the regular order. I did not demand it.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. And I am presenting what I believe to be in the nature of a petition to the Senate.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That does not meet the point of order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Of course, if the Senator insists upon his point of order, I have nothing further to say.

THE COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES.

Mr. CALDER. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to report back favorably Senate resolution 180, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The resolution was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding \$1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate.

EMBARGO ON WHEAT.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report back favorably, without amendment, Senate resolution 211, submitted by Mr. OWEN on the 13th instant, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry immediately investigate the reasons for the embargo on wheat and why transportation is not available to move the wheat of Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, Colorado, and other States, and what steps the Grain Corporation has taken to obtain ships for the movement of such grain.

The said committee is hereby empowered to sit and act at such time and place as it may deem necessary; to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance of witnesses, the production of books, papers, and documents; to employ stenographers at a cost not exceeding \$1 per printed page. The chairman of the committee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses. Subpoenas for witnesses shall be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee thereof. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The expense thereof shall be paid from the contingent funds of the Senate on vouchers ordered by said committee, signed by the chairman thereof and approved by the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. Without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Is the resolution before the Senate?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution is not before the Senate. There is nothing before the Senate.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I thought the resolution was before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair asked whether there was objection to the present consideration of the resolution, and the Chair heard none.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. At that point I rose and addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair did not hear the request of the Senator from New Mexico for recognition.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. There has been no vote taken upon the resolution, I believe.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. As I recollect, the President pro tempore stated that without objection the resolution was agreed to, and that was the order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Reports of committees are still in order.

COTTON CROP OF 1919.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. From the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry I report back favorably, without amendment, the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to prepare and issue a supplementary report on the condition of the cotton crop; and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Georgia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a joint resolution just reported by him.

Mr. ASHURST. Let it be read first.

The Secretary read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and directed to prepare and publish, not later than November 2, 1919, a supplementary estimate of the condition of the cotton crop as of the date October 25, 1919.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, with the understanding that there is not to be any debate, I do not object. Otherwise, I shall object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair can not give the Senator from Wisconsin any assurance upon that point.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There will be no debate. If there is any, I will withdraw my request.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution? The Chair hears none.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I am not going to take up the time—

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? In view of the statement I made it seems to me the Senator should have stated whether he intended to occupy the 15 minutes remaining in debate. Of course, he is at perfect liberty to do that, but I submit that it is not quite fair to the Senate.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I desired to state, Mr. President, that I wanted about two minutes to conclude what I was saying when objection was made by the Senator from Connecticut. It will not take up the remainder of the morning hour, and I have no intention of delaying the passage of this joint resolution; but I do want to call the attention of the Senate to the importance of the Federal amendment permitting women to vote.

I think it is extremely important at this time in the history of our country that this privilege should be granted, and I hope the Senators who are in favor of the amendment to the Constitution will use their utmost endeavors in bringing about the ratification of the amendment.

In order that Senators may be informed as to the present status of the amendment, I ask to have inserted in the Record, without reading, an article from the New York Times, which purports to give, and I believe does correctly give, a statement of the present status of the amendment. If that may be published in the Record, I shall conclude what I have to say by again appealing to Senators to do what they can in their home States to bring about the ratification of the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the communication will be printed in the Record as requested.

The matter referred to is as follows:

"OBSTRUCTING FEDERAL SUFFRAGE—OBSCURE OR RELUCTANT GOVERNORS MAY LOSE WOMEN THE VOTE IN NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

"ATTITUDE OF THE LEGISLATURES.

"Below are given the party proportions in State legislatures. Those marked with a star have ratified, 19 in number. Those marked with a cross constitute the suffragist list of States classed as 'expected to ratify.' They are 22 in number. Nineteen are necessary in order to attain the necessary two-thirds. Those States unmarked are classed as unpromising territory by suffrage leaders at Washington. Two of these, Florida and Tennessee, regarded as favorable to suffrage, are prevented from voting on an amendment until a new legislature is elected. It will be noted that all the States unmarked in this list are Southern:

Alabama, 100 per cent Democratic.
 * Arizona, majority Democratic.
 * Arkansas, 100 per cent Democratic.
 † California, 3 to 1 Republican.
 † Colorado, 2 to 1 Republican.
 † Connecticut, 3 to 1 Republican.
 † Delaware, 2 to 1 Republican.
 Florida, 100 per cent Democratic.
 Georgia, 100 per cent Democratic.
 † Idaho, majority Republican.
 * Illinois, majority Republican.
 † Indiana, 3 to 1 Republican.
 * Iowa, 6 to 1 Republican.
 * Kansas, majority Republican.
 † Kentucky, Democratic majority.
 Louisiana, 100 per cent Democratic.
 † Maine, 3 to 1 Republican.
 † Maryland, Democratic-Republican equality.
 * Massachusetts, 4 to 1 Republican.
 * Michigan, majority Republican.
 * Minnesota, majority Republican.
 Mississippi, 100 per cent Democratic.
 * Missouri, majority Democratic.
 * Montana, 3 to 1 Republican.
 * Nebraska, 8 to 1 Republican.
 † Nevada, majority Republican.
 * New Hampshire, 2 to 1 Republican.
 † New Jersey, 5 to 4 Republican.
 † New Mexico, 7 to 3 Republican.
 * New York, 5 to 3 Republican.
 North Carolina, 100 per cent Democratic.
 † North Dakota, majority Republican.
 * Ohio, 2 to 1 Republican.
 † Oklahoma, majority Democratic.
 † Oregon, 8 to 1 Republican.
 * Pennsylvania, 8 to 1 Republican.
 † Rhode Island, majority Republican.
 South Carolina, 100 per cent Democratic.
 † South Dakota, 14 to 1 Republican.
 Tennessee, 100 per cent Democratic.
 * Texas, 100 per cent Democratic.
 * Utah, majority Republican.
 † Vermont, majority Republican.
 Virginia, 100 per cent Democratic.
 † Washington, 10 to 1 Republican.
 † West Virginia, majority Republican.
 * Wisconsin, majority Republican.
 † Wyoming, 3 to 1 Republican.

"Both Democratic and Republican speakers, in their flourishes for the women's vote in the next presidential election, assume as a foregone conclusion that the suffrage amendment will be ratified in ample time. They have taken their cue from the rosy claims put forth by suffrage leaders when ratification by one State was quickly followed by that of another. At the then rate of progress success did seem certain, but within the last few weeks obstacles have appeared which have changed the buoyant confidence of suffrage leaders in touch with the situation to one of increasing anxiety. In fact, earlier predictions have so gone awry that unless some unforeseen development takes place the amendment, if it does get through in time, is likely to do so by the closest of shaves.

"Two votes in Congress held up the passage of the suffrage amendment a year. Some of the suffrage leaders are apprehensive that by a similar narrow margin woman's participation in a presidential election may go over for four years. Outwardly there is still an air of confidence at woman's national headquarters at Washington, but in the inner councils the state of mind borders on one of alarm. There are two chief causes for uncertainty.

"One is that some of the western governors who made to representatives of the suffragists statements which were taken as assurances that extra sessions would be called are now deferring action on those extra sessions. They are even indicating in some instances that governors are doubtful of the advisability of summoning the legislature for the purpose desired.

"UNEXPECTED OPPOSITION.

"The other cause is adverse action by political parties or primaries in States where victory was counted as certain. Ratification by 19 States are necessary to win. In 15 of these special sessions are required. Of the 17 States which have ratified, 7 did so in regular sessions, and the special sessions

brought about were in States where success was comparatively easy on account of highly favorable conditions. Thus seven of the special sessions were gained in the period between June 16 and August 2. Despite increasing effort, only two States—New Hampshire and Utah—were added to the list in September. Only one other State has a definite date set for a special session—Colorado. The governor of that State has announced that he will issue an official call for November 15. In a statement of the National Woman's Party put out recently at Washington 22 States were set down as 'expected to ratify.' Other States which have not ratified, while they are not absolutely given up, are, to say the least, not regarded as promising. Thus the chances to win are in the main centered in the list of 22. That list is composed of:

"Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming, and Kentucky.

"In two of these States recent political events have altered the situation unfavorably since the original forecast was made. Maryland is one of the four States in the list which has a regular session of the legislature in 1920, the others being New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Kentucky. The present Legislature of Maryland has been polled by suffrage agents, and, according to them, would pass the ratification resolution if assembled, but the governor, Emerson C. Harrington, Democrat, flatly refuses to call a special session. New members of the legislature are to be elected in November. The Democratic organization in that State is put down as against suffrage, and the Republicans at their recent convention decided they would not vote in the legislature to ratify an amendment to the Federal Constitution until the question has first been submitted to the voters of the State.

"This drew an immediate protest from the suffragist leaders at Washington. The answer of the Maryland Republicans was that the action of the convention was intended to apply to the prohibition amendment, but that explanation did not alter the effect of the plank in the party platform. In any event, the suffrage amendment in this State is left to the uncertainties of an election campaign just now getting under way. If the Democrats win, some of them will evidently have to be 'converted'; if the Republicans are successful, they stand committed to popular referendum vote on suffrage, with the issue uncertain and the matter of time an adverse factor in getting a final action before registration day for the presidential election.

"SITUATION IN NEW JERSEY.

"In New Jersey, where also a new legislature is to be elected this fall, there is a situation somewhat similar, as the result of the recent primaries there. There, too, the Republicans are pledged to submit the amendment to a referendum before the legislature acts upon it, and the cost of a special election, with the hue and cry to keep down expenses going on, may, as in Maryland, be used by opponents to postpone the referendum until the next regular election, which would be that of the next presidential election. The Democratic candidate for governor in New Jersey has promised to stand for immediate affirmative action on the amendment if elected. To make the situation more vexing to the suffragists, the amendment would be ratified, they say, by the present members of the legislature, as shown by a careful poll, if the governor could be induced to call the legislature in special session. This Gov. William N. Runyon, Republican, refuses to do.

"In two other States in this preferred list governors who, it was hoped by the suffragists, would be won over to calling special sessions have taken such an emphatic position against doing so that the chance of 'converting' them has grown more and more unlikely. These executives are Gov. Marcus H. Holcomb, of Connecticut, and Gov. Percival W. Clement, of Vermont. If special sessions could be won in these States, say the suffragists, there is no doubt that the legislatures would ratify. The four States named are troubling the suffragists most; if they should all fail to ratify in time and none of the States outside of the 'expected to ratify' list should swing over to suffrage, then the amendment would not be made operative in time for the next presidential election.

"DILATORY TACTICS USED.

"In addition to these uncertainties there is a list of States where it was expected that calls for special sessions would have been announced by this time. Gov. William B. Stephens, of California, promised, according to the suffragists, that he would call a special session if necessary, but he has not acted, and the suffragists have been unable to get anything definite out of him. An issue has risen there to complicate the situation. Senator JAMES D. PHELAN, of that State, wants a special ses-

sion also for another purpose—to pass legislation bearing on oriental immigrants. Gov. Stephens, it is reported, is opposed to inviting legislative action on the oriental question, thus strengthening his disinclination to call a special session.

"Gov. Thomas E. Campbell, of Arizona, Republican, was counted on to speed along the ratifications. The latest from him, suffragists at Washington report, is 'that unless his plans are changed he will call a special session, but for the present he has no intention of acting.' At the Salt Lake meeting of governors the suffragists announced that assurances had been obtained from Gov. John G. Townsend, of Delaware, Republican, that he would call a special session. Since then a fight has developed in Delaware over the repeal of a recently passed school law largely increasing taxes. Those in the Republican Party who oppose the repeal are against a special session, which might mean a reconsideration of the measure at this time.

"In Idaho Gov. D. W. Davis has added to the disappointment of the suffragists by putting off acting. They had him classed as one who had promised to give aid and comfort. The governor is a Republican. Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho, also a Republican, made one of the most determined fights in the Senate against the amendment. Gov. Ben Olcott, of Oregon, also listed as having given assurances that he would call a special session, is reported to be balking on the ground of the extra expense, especially as the women of his State already have full suffrage. This is true of other Western States where the calling of a special session is hanging fire. California, Washington, Wyoming, Idaho, Arizona, South Dakota, and Oklahoma all have full suffrage.

"Indeed, the suffragist leaders in Washington have met difficulty in arousing to aggressive fight for special sessions, with its extra expense, the women of States which already give women the vote. In order to overcome the obstacle of extra expense the suffragist agents are seeking pledges from the members of legislatures that they will waive pay and mileage. In the States which are yet without woman suffrage it is found more easy for women who want the ballot to go in and fight for it, but where governors take an unyielding position against suffrage the fighting may influence future campaigns, but does not move the obstinate executive to the desired immediate action.

"Both Democratic and Republican national leaders are on record for the suffrage amendment, and therefore the suffragists profess to be puzzled because these men have not used their influence on the governors, or if they have used it, why it has not been effective in causing the governors to do as the suffragists want them to.

"'Why,' asked a suffrage leader in Washington the other day, 'has not Chairman Hays, of the Republican national committee, induced his friend, Gov. James P. Goodrich, of Indiana, to call a special session? It ought to be all the easier, because some of our representatives received assurances from the Indiana governor that he would assemble the legislature for this purpose. Now, it is said he is on the uncertain list. And if the Democrats are equally desirous that we vote in 1920, why does not Chairman Cummings, of the Democratic national committee, get the Democratic governor of Maryland to call a special session in that State?'

"Between the Democrats and the Republicans the greater opportunity to be instrumental in the ratification of the amendment lies, it is admitted, with the Republicans. Of the 22 States 'expected to ratify' only five have Democratic governors—Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Nevada, and West Virginia. Two Democratic States which the suffragists were counting on have lined up in the anti column—Virginia and Georgia. Virginia will have a regular session in 1920, and the suffragists will continue the fight then. Two other Democratic States, Florida and Tennessee, which would be certain to ratify according to suffragist tallies, are prevented from doing so by laws that an amendment may not be ratified before a new legislature is elected, a requirement which practically amounts to a referendum in these States. To add to the embarrassment of Democratic leaders who are urging the ratification of the amendment, Gov. Ruffin G. Pleasant, of Louisiana, has issued an appeal to the other Southern States asking them to join in preventing ratification. Other Southern States the legislatures of which meet this winter are Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Suffragists assert that they have a chance in Mississippi and North Carolina.

"The total of this opposition to the suffrage amendment among southern Democrats may seem an undue load for national Democratic leaders to carry until it is taken into consideration that the Republicans have 15 governors to line up or account for by 'explanations' satisfactory to the suffragists. There is a suspicion among the suffragist leaders that some of the uncompromising antis among the Democrats and the Republicans are secretly obstructing the progress of the amendment, and that the

demand made in some States that the question be referred to the people is in reality a plan to prevent ratification in time for the 1920 election.

"THE TIME LIMIT.

"That time is shorter than it seemed on first consideration. Some of the States have a poll-tax law which requires payment from four to six months in advance of the election. In Alabama the poll tax must be paid by February 1. In the greater number of the States registration is not more than one month in advance of the election, but in others—Oregon, Utah, and Indiana, for example—it is 60 days before election; in Arkansas and Mississippi, 4; in Rhode Island, 5; and in New Hampshire, 6, except in the city of Manchester. Therefore, according to a suffrage leader in Washington, if ratification is delayed much beyond the first of the year the operation of State election laws cuts down the number of women who could vote in the next presidential election.

"Looking at the situation as it is to-day the prospect that women will vote in the 1920 election would be dark, indeed, from the standpoint of the suffragist, were the fact not taken into consideration that wholly unlooked-for gains have been made by the suffragists in the past. Senators and Representatives at Washington who were listed as rank antis switched over to the pro column. The so-called 'pressure' system, with the 'card index' of Members, has got credit as the chief propulsive force. Soon after the passage of the amendment this system was extended to fit governors. At first it seemed that the governors would be as responsive as Senators and Representatives, but after some initial successes results have been disappointing. A suffrage leader in Washington said the other day in referring to some of the governors: 'You can not budge them.' This winter, however, during the months considered the most suitable for legislative sessions the suffragists, they say, expect to resume the headway they attained in the six weeks following the passage of the amendment and to continue their drive whatever the obstacles until success is won in time for the 1920 election."

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT-OWNED SHIPS.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, I call up Senate resolution 212, which was carried over under the rule.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 212) submitted by Mr. EDGE:

Whereas from time to time public announcement has been made of the placing of orders by private American companies for the construction of cargo ships by private yards; and

Whereas as a specific instance, during the past week a statement appeared in the public press to the effect that the Atlantic, Gulf & West Indies Steamship Co. had ordered by private yards the construction of eight tank ships; and

Whereas the United States Shipping Board, or Emergency Fleet Corporation, has full authority to dispose of ships now under their jurisdiction and control and included in this fleet are many tank ships apparently of the general type being obtained by private concerns from other sources; and

Whereas in the one instance cited approximately \$18,000,000 could have been obtained by the Shipping Board through the sale of such ships to private concerns; and

Whereas one of the practical, effective methods for reducing the exorbitant taxation now prevailing is by covering back into the Treasury the hundreds of millions of dollars now tied up in the operations of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation; and

Whereas it now is high time that the Government be released from competition with private business, and that business be restored to private hands: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the United States Shipping Board be instructed herewith to advise the Senate as to whether any effort was made to dispose of Government-owned ships to fill the order herein cited, and if so what prices were offered and asked for the same; and further to advise the Senate as to the number of ships that have been disposed of to private interests, with a description of the same and the prices received, and whether any offers have recently been received or are at present pending and the quotations involved, as well as to inform the Senate on the policy being followed in endeavoring to dispose of this type of Government property.

Mr. EDGE and Mr. FLETCHER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. EDGE. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment to the resolution. I really do not think that the last "whereas" clause on the first page ought to be included in the resolution; but I am quite positive that the last "whereas" clause, appearing on the second page, should not be included in the resolution, and I move to strike it out.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will state the amendment proposed by the Senator from Florida.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, strike out the following words of the preamble:

And whereas it now is high time that the Government be released from competition with private business, and that business be restored to private hands.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, I have no objection to the adoption of the amendment. It states a policy and perhaps it is not entirely in place in this resolution of inquiry. While I believe that 90 per cent of the people of the United States agree with the policy so stated, perhaps it is hardly the time or the occasion to put the Senate on record, and with six minutes left of the morning hour, as I am particularly anxious to have the resolution passed so that we can at least get this information, I will not object to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, just a word. I do not agree to the inference that may be drawn from the last clause. Of course, if the Government should dispose of the ships and put the money in the Treasury we would have that much money in the Treasury, but we would have no ships. It is the same proposition, practically, as if owning an automobile I were to sell the automobile and put the money in my pocket. I would have the money, but I would have no automobile. The proposition is reasonably sound that if we cover back into the Treasury the hundreds of millions of dollars we have invested in ships we would have that much more money in the Treasury, but we would have no ships.

I am not in favor of disposing of any of these ships at this time, except such as are not efficient and might reasonably be disposed of in order to balance the fleet. If it was left with me, I would not sell a rowboat, especially not to any other country.

I think further that this information can be had without calling upon the Shipping Board by a resolution of this sort. It could be had, I think, upon request. As evidence of that, I am going to offer to have printed in the RECORD a copy of a communication received from the chairman of the Shipping Board a few days ago as to the plan for making sales and the number of sales that have been made up to this time. The information may be of some value, and I ask to have the communication inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD,
Washington, October 1, 1919.

Hon. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER.

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your letter of September 26 re vessels sold, chartered, or allocated by the Shipping Board, I inclose herewith list of vessels sold up to the present time, together with statement of prices at which our vessels are disposed of. I am also sending you a copy of our triweekly report, which gives all allocations and charters of our vessels. Our policy is to charter only wooden and composite steamers, except in a few cases, where steel steamers are chartered to concerns to replace vessels which we have requisitioned from them and have still in service. When vessels are allocated by the board they are turned over to managers to be handled for us in connection with the securing of crews, furnishing of supplies, etc. For such services we pay a fee of \$400 a month for each vessel up to and including five. If a company is assigned for management more than five boats, we pay them \$350 a month for each vessel in excess of five. The operators of our ships—those who procure cargoes and attend to loading of same, etc.—are paid a commission of 2½ per cent of the gross freight list of general cargoes supplied by them and 1½ per cent of the gross freight list of bulk cargoes supplied by them.

With the hope that this will enable you to furnish your constituent with the information desired, and with kind regards,

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) JOHN BARTON PAYNE, Chairman.

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD,
SHIP SALES DIVISION,
Washington, August 1, 1919.

Prices and terms fixed for steel and wood tonnage.

STEEL VESSELS.

Prices: Vessels built on Great Lakes for ocean service, 3,000/4,200 dead-weight tons, \$200 per dead-weight ton.

Submarine Boat Corporation type, 5,350 dead-weight tons, \$210 per dead-weight ton.

American International Shipbuilding Corporation type, 7,800 dead-weight tons, \$215 per dead-weight ton.

Skinner & Eddy type, 8,800 dead-weight tons, \$220 per dead-weight ton.

Skinner & Eddy type, 9,600 (10,070) dead-weight tons, \$225 per dead-weight ton.

No brokerage allowed for sale of steel vessels.

WOODEN VESSELS.

Ferris type, single screw, 3,500 dead-weight tons.

Prices and terms:

1. Ninety dollars per dead-weight ton. Cash payment on delivery.
2. One hundred dollars per dead-weight ton. On delivery of vessels, 50 per cent of purchase price to be paid in cash; balance, 50 per cent, to be paid in quarter-annual installments of 8½ per cent, extending over period of 18 months.

3. One hundred and fifteen dollars per dead-weight ton. On delivery of vessel, 25 per cent to be paid in cash; balance, 75 per cent, payable in quarter-annual installments of 6½ per cent, extending over period of 36 months.

One and one-fourth per cent brokerage allowed bona fide brokers completing the sale of a wooden ship.

Ships sold by United States Shipping Board to Sept. 25, 1919.

Name.	Dead-weight tons.	Terms of payment.	Purchaser.
New steel ships:			
Deerfield.....	9,725	Deferred payments.	Eldorado S. S. Co.
New Britain.....	7,814	do.	J. E. Doekendorff & Co.
Point Adams.....	3,750	Cash on delivery.	Pacific Mail S. S. Co.
Point Bonita.....	3,750	do.	Do.
Point Judith.....	3,750	do.	Do.
Point Lobos.....	3,750	do.	Do.
Redondo.....	5,900	Deferred payments.	F. & J. Auditors.
Richmond Boro.....	7,787	do.	Williams S. S. Co.
Sacramento.....	7,462	do.	F. & J. Auditors.
West Catanae.....	8,453	do.	Eldorado S. S. Co.
Wisconsin Bridge.....	5,336	do.	French-American Line.
Donora.....	9,778	do.	Orinoco S. S. Co.
Hauchuca.....	7,455	do.	Oriental Navigation Co.
Lake Mohonk.....	3,513	Cash on delivery.	Astoria Mahogany Co.
Lake Oneida.....	3,513	do.	Do.
Mineola.....	3,954	Deferred payments.	W. R. Grace & Co.
Neponset.....	9,737	do.	Eldorado S. S. Co.
Santa Tecla.....	3,954	do.	W. R. Grace & Co.
Yaphank.....	7,814	do.	Williams S. S. Co.
Ex-Austrian steel ship:			
Lydia.....	5,935	do.	
Reconstructed lake ships:			
Adrian Iselin.....	3,075	Cash on delivery.	George Hall Coal Corporation.
A. D. Maetier.....	2,920	do.	Do.
Blue Hill.....	4,000	do.	Massey S. S. Co.
P. P. Jones.....	2,850	do.	Edward P. Farley & Co.,
Frontenac.....	3,500	do.	Davis S. B. & Repair Co.
L. W. Robinson.....	2,824	do.	George Hall Coal Corporation
Manola (stern).....		do.	Davis S. B. & Repair Co.
C. R. Van Hise.....	7,500	do.	Paisley & Morrow S. S. Co.
E. C. Pope.....	4,000	do.	Coastwise Transportation Co.
Maruba.....	3,800	do.	Fidelity Trust Co.
North Wind.....	3,225	do.	Sold to lower-named.
North Pines.....	4,500	Deferred payments.	French-American Line.
R. S. Warner.....	4,250	do.	Do.
Roman.....	3,175	do.	Do.
Saxon.....	3,040	do.	Do.
Requisitioned steel ships:			
Columbis.....	2,900		W. R. Grace & Co.
Airhe.....	4,000	Deferred payments	Nacirema S. S. Co.
Ashburn.....	4,000	do.	Do.
Beechland.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Birchleaf.....	4,000	do.	Do.
Cowardin.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Dalana.....	4,000	do.	Do.
Horado.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Natenna.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Nawtika.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Neabco.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Thala.....	4,000	do.	Do.
Zavallo.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Coyote.....	3,500	do.	French-American Line.
Kanabec.....	3,500	Cash on delivery.	Do.
Mazama.....	3,500	Deferred payments	Do.
Red Cloud.....	3,500	Cash on delivery.	Do.
Yehama.....	3,500	do.	Fidelity Trust Co.
Alderman.....	4,700	Deferred payments	Nacirema S. S. Co.
Argenta.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Itompa.....	4,700	do.	Do.
Buckannon.....	3,500	Cash on delivery.	Continental Transportation & Oil Co.
Campello.....	3,500	do.	Do.
Wooden barge:			
Iberia.....	2,300	do.	Robert P. Hyams
Requisitioned tugs:			
John E. Meyer.....		do.	Stclair Navigation Co.
Richard Fitzgerald.....		do.	Kelley Island Line & Transport Co.

RECAPITULATION.

	Number.	Dead-weight tons.		
Steel vessels.....	26	132,328	\$20,423,065.00	\$8,562,033.26
Wood and composite.....	20	84,879	11,020,000.00	1,532,508.00
Tugs.....	5		421,000.00	421,000.00
Barges.....	1		125,000.00	31,250.00
		217,207	31,989,065.00	10,546,793.26

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, I move to amend the "whereas" in the preamble next before the last upon page 1 by inserting after the word "whereas" the words "it was stated in said article that," before the words "in the one instance

cited." My reason for suggesting the amendment is that I have been objecting for several days to agreeing to resolutions in stating solemn and important facts in preambles to resolutions. I do not think it ought to be done.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I move to strike out the paragraph of the preamble near the bottom of page 1, extending over to page 2.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, I object to that amendment.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I make that motion for the reason so directly stated by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]. It is a question of policy upon which we should not commit ourselves in this hurried manner. The Senator can get his information just as well without that preamble.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, I can not see any reason in the world why the Senate of the United States should object to stating a fact. There is quite a distinction between the objection raised by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] and the suggestion made by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. The quotation of \$18,000,000 was entirely from a newspaper article, and I think the suggestion and the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin were entirely proper. But the paragraph objected to by the Senator from Montana permit me to read:

Whereas one of the practical, effective methods for reducing the exorbitant taxation now prevailing is by covering back into the Treasury the hundreds of millions of dollars now tied up in the operations of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Certainly that is not a question of policy; that is a question of fact. Every dollar of governmental property disposed of, where the money is turned back into the Treasury, relieves us of that much in securing new income or new revenue to run the Government. The policy of running the merchant marine, the railroads, or any other agency in which the Government is now involved, is not here discussed; the mere statement is made that money being returned by the sale of governmental property or commodities must relieve the taxpayers of this country to that extent; and I can not see the slightest objection to drawing attention to it.

On a division, the amendment of Mr. WALSH of Montana was rejected.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

SEDITIONARY ACTS AND UTTERANCES.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I call up the resolution which was submitted by me asking for certain information from the Attorney General and which went over under the rule.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 213) submitted by Mr. POINDEXTER on the 14th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to advise and inform the Senate the reason for the failure of the Department of Justice to take legal proceedings for the arrest and punishment of the various persons within the United States who during recent days and weeks, and for a considerable time continuously previous thereto, it is alleged, have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States; who, it is alleged, have preached anarchy and sedition; who, it is alleged, have advised the defiance of law and authority, both by the printing and circulation of printed newspapers, books, pamphlets, circulars, stickers, and dodgers, and also by spoken word; and who, in like manner, it is alleged, have advised and openly advocated the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property, in pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community.

Also, the Attorney General is requested to advise and inform the Senate why the Department of Justice has failed to take legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who, it is alleged, have within the United States committed the acts aforesaid.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I move to amend the resolution in line 2, page 1, by striking out the words "the reason for," and in line 3 the words "the failure of," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "whether or not"; and following the word "Justice," in line 3, I move to strike out the words "to take" and insert in lieu thereof the words "has taken"; and after the word "proceedings," in line 4, to insert the words "and if not, why not, and if so, to what extent," so that that portion of the resolution will read:

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings, and if not, why not, and if so, to what extent, for the arrest and punishment, etc.

As the resolution now reads it simply condemns, in effect, the Department of Justice for a failure to do something which, according to my information, the Department of Justice not only has not failed to do, but is taking the necessary steps to accomplish. I believe the resolution would get the information which I think the Senator wants without the words I move to strike out.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I move to amend the amendment of the Senator from Florida by adding, at the close of the amendment which he has proposed, the words "and to what extent such proceedings have been taken, if at all."

Mr. FLETCHER. I have no objection to that.

Mr. POINDEXTER. As so amended, while I prefer the original form, I will accept the amendment suggested by the Senator from Florida.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Florida as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

Mr. FLETCHER. I desire to suggest a further amendment. In line 6, page 2, I move to strike out the word "why" and insert in lieu thereof the words "whether or not"; and in line 6, after the word "has," strike out the words "failed to take" and insert in lieu thereof the word "taken"; and at the conclusion of the paragraph add the words "and if not, why not; and if so, to what extent," after the word "aforesaid," in line 9, so that the paragraph as amended will read:

Also, the Attorney General is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who, it is alleged, have, within the United States, committed the acts aforesaid; and if not, why not; and if so, to what extent.

Then, if the Senator from Washington desires to add "and to what extent such proceedings have been taken, if at all," those words can be added.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I accept the suggested amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings—and if not, why not; and if so, to what extent—for the arrest and punishment of the various persons within the United States who, during recent days and weeks, and for a considerable time continuously previous thereto, it is alleged, have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States; who, it is alleged, have preached anarchy and sedition; who, it is alleged, have advised the defiance of law and authority, both by the printing and circulation of printed newspapers, books, pamphlets, circulars, stickers, and dodgers, and also by spoken word; and who, in like manner, it is alleged, have advised and openly advocated the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property, in pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community.

Also, the Attorney General is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who, it is alleged, have, within the United States, committed the acts aforesaid; and if not, why not; and if so, to what extent.

TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to consider the treaty of peace with Germany as in open executive session.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, and in open executive session, resumed the consideration of the treaty of peace with Germany.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the treaty, on page 217, and read as follows:

"Article 189.

"Articles, machinery and material arising from the breaking-up of German warships of all kinds, whether surface vessels or submarines, may not be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes.

"They may not be sold or disposed of to foreign countries.

"Article 190.

"Germany is forbidden to construct or acquire any warships other than those intended to replace the units in commission provided for in Article 181 of the present Treaty.

"The warships intended for replacement purposes as above shall not exceed the following displacement:

Armoured ships	10,000 tons,
Light cruisers	6,000 tons,
Destroyers	800 tons,
Torpedo boats	200 tons.

"Except where a ship has been lost, units of the different classes shall only be replaced at the end of a period of twenty years in the case of battleships and cruisers, and fifteen years in the case of destroyers and torpedo boats, counting from the launching of the ship.

"Article 191.

"The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Germany.

"Article 192.

"The warships in commission of the German fleet must have on board or in reserve only the allowance of arms, munitions and war material fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

"Within a month from the fixing of the quantities as above, arms, munitions and war material of all kinds, including mines and torpedoes, now in the hands of the German Government and in excess of the said quantities, shall be surrendered to the Governments of the said Powers at places to be indicated by them. Such arms, munitions and war material will be destroyed or rendered useless.

"All other stocks, depots or reserves of arms, munitions or naval war material of all kinds are forbidden.

"The manufacture of these articles in German territory for, and their export to, foreign countries shall be forbidden.

"Article 193.

"On the coming into force of the present Treaty Germany will forthwith sweep up the mines in the following areas in the North Sea to the eastward of longitude 4° 00' E. of Greenwich:

"(1) Between parallels of latitude 53° 00' N. and 59° 00' N.; (2) To the northward of latitude 60° 30' N.

"Germany must keep these areas free from mines.

"Germany must also sweep and keep free from mines such areas in the Baltic as may ultimately be notified by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

"Article 194.

"The personnel of the German Navy shall be recruited entirely by voluntary engagements entered into for a minimum period of twenty-five consecutive years for officers and warrant officers; twelve consecutive years for petty officers and men.

"The number engaged to replace those discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed five per cent. per annum of the totals laid down in this Section (Article 183)."

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, at this time I desire to make a few observations. I believe I have not, so far, entered into the discussion of the peace treaty, league of nations, or any of the perplexing problems that are disturbing our national and commercial peace. I have heard some, and have read many, of the speeches in the Senate, and I feel moved to venture a few observations for record touching these engrossing subjects.

We have just successfully concluded the greatest war in the world's history. The ruthless sacrifice of human lives knows no historical parallel. The lavish expenditure of public funds and the wanton destruction of property and resources have plunged the world into appreciable proximity to the abyss of universal bankruptcy. The world has been on a prolonged debauch of expense—much of it necessary, but some of it unnecessary and wickedly extravagant. It is not strange, then, nor unnatural that after passing through such a hysteria of unparalleled excesses and intemperance we should to-day find ourselves confronted with the inevitable after effects, nor is it entirely surprising that the governments of the world should be beset by revolution and anarchy after experiencing these vicissitudes.

Our own United States, although fortunately farther removed from the disastrous after effects than are some of the other governments, still must consider herself a patient for serious treatment. The vote of the people has ordained us to be the physicians and the surgeons in the case. What remedies, then, are to be prescribed for the patient?

Although this Government of ours was conceived less than a century and a half ago, it now occupies an exalted position as a world leader. Her success has promoted her to the first positions in commerce, industry, form of government, and world power. Such rapid progress can not be termed accidental. There must be an underlying cause.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Senate, I am ready to stand firmly and unequivocally upon the ground that our great success has been due fundamentally and primarily to our form of government. It has been brought about by our faithful adherence to the basic principles of self-government as promulgated by our forefathers and recorded in our Constitution. It has been the result of unswerving loyalty of the past to the precepts embodied by patriotic statesmen in such governmental monuments as Washington's Farewell Address, the Monroe doctrine, and Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. It occurs to me that these prescriptive remedies should be applied now. We have but to apply the foundational truths and elementary doctrines which have so successfully guided our ship of state in the past.

The right of the majority to rule and the supreme sovereignty of our Government are of first and vital importance in these

teachings. I can not agree with the program outlined in a recent meeting of the communist party at Chicago to join with the Russian Bolsheviks in an international plot to overthrow this Government and to supplant it with their own Utopian mesmerisms. Nor can I agree with the attitude of Mr. Gompers, when he recently said before a Senate committee that if a law were passed to prevent railroad strikes he believed the railroad unions would strike, regardless of law and order. I can not agree with the Boston policemen who, in direct violation of their solemn oath to uphold the law, deserted their posts and relinquished the city to the mercy of hoodlums. I can not agree with the President, who, in his recent Des Moines speech, said that the league of nations covenant is bigger than the Senate and greater than our Government.

In fact, I can not agree with any man or any mob that would detract from the supreme sovereignty of our Government and its Constitution. To yield one iota from this position I would consider a flagrant violation of my oath of office which I swore to keep.

The signs of the day are ominous. Nearly every new edition of the press heralds a new declaration against the Government by some class, mob, or misguided individual. There is a too prevalent disposition to usurp the power and the will of the majority. I look with a jealous and a critical eye upon these encroachments. It is generally conceded that the treaty and the league of nations covenant is the most momentous question before the country to-day. And here the issue stands out in bold silhouette.

The President has clearly stated in his Des Moines address what in my opinion constitutes the main point in controversy—the league of nations is greater than the Government. Shall our Government be subservient and a vassal to an international affiliation? Shall we waive our heritage and independent treasure to enter a universal brotherhood in which we yield this inherent privilege? Or shall our Government and Constitution remain supreme, with the spirit and patriotism in which it was conceived and reared?

For my own part I deem it my duty and an honor to take my stand under the banner of the inviolable sovereignty of our Government and its constitutional rights. I can not agree with any international body which usurps or subtracts even one degree from the power and the independency of our nationality. I can not vote for the league of nations as proposed until it has been Americanized to recognize these principles.

My conscience demands that I stand for reservations which insure the freedom and the liberty of the American people which they have enjoyed since the Declaration of Independence. To my mind pursuing any other course would mean that our traditional liberty bell had been cleft in vain; that the horrors of the Civil War and the proclamation of emancipation had been for naught; that the blood and fiber of our American manhood had been spent to no avail on the battle fields of France.

My friends who favor this league in its present form may say that I lack vision; that I have failed to hear the voice of humanity crying out for love and peace throughout the universe. It may be said that I have neglected to gather the light and golden rule embodied in the Biblical lesson, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

It is said that the United States can not afford to recede from our past program of charity and philanthropy toward civilization in general; that we must accept the league as the next step up the ladder. To none of these statements and allegations can I accede. On the contrary, I believe that if our Nation has been an altruistic Samsonian giant in the past it will surely be shorn of its copious locks by sacrificing its birthright to join the present league of nations.

The moment we relinquish the fundamental foundations upon which our Nation has been constructed, then shall we commence to decay, crumble, and fall as a strong power for good.

History relates in tragic terms the steps which led to the downfall of the Grecian State, the Roman Empire, and many other governments which reigned supreme during their period of ascendancy. Is there not some value in the historian's records as to the rise and fall of nations? Radical changes have been the rocks upon which many a good ship of state has foundered. Let us not be unduly disturbed by the "voices in the air" which cry out for the adoption of extreme and radical ideas in our national policy. On the other hand, let us view the present problem sanely and practically, giving full weight and credence to the teachings and experiences of the past. Why imperil the bone and food which we have in our mouth by plunging headlong into the river after another bone, which may turn out to be only a shadow?

What nation, what man can question the unselfish motives and purposes of the United States? The battle for equal rights of men and the progress of civilization have ever been our creed. Our missionaries have pierced every corner of the globe. We have fed the starving hordes of the world. We have always exerted our good offices and diplomatic power against autocratic oppression and injustice. By the grace of God we were the final potent factor which turned defeat into victory in the late war. We allied ourselves on the side of justice and liberty, without coercion or duress. Our influence for good throughout the world will grow and become more effective in the future if followed under the policy of the past.

Discarding the fundamental rights which have made us a great Nation and a benevolent world power will undermine and weaken the whole fabric of our Government and its institutions. The plan will defeat itself. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. We can best answer the "voices in the air" and the needs of humanity by rejecting any league of nations which is not thoroughly Americanized lest it strike at the vitals of our very existence.

No one doubts the sincerity of purpose which inspires the proponents of this proposed league. No one can question the spirit and desire on the part of the President to solve the problem of world peace. The zeal and intensity with which he has worked in placing his idea before the people of the world characterize the depth of his feeling. His final physical exhaustion in pressing his convictions is to be lamented.

Again I wish to reiterate that the patriotism and sentiment of the men who favor this league can not be questioned. I grant that they are actuated by an ambition to be of service not only to their country but to the entire mundane sphere. But they go too far. They have blindly followed and have been carried past the stopping point of moderation and good, sound common sense, and unfortunately have allowed "visions" and mirages to enmesh them in an extreme and radical position.

Even the ancient Greek philosophers taught that success in life is found in a life of moderation. Pope in his Essay on Criticism sounds the same warning when he says:

Be not the first by whom the new are tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.

No one has greater horror of or antipathy toward war than I. It has been my lot to have taken part in one war, and the terrible consequences still remain graphically impressed upon my mind.

Then came the war and waste of our endeavors for the Cuban people and our acquisition of responsibilities in the Philippines.

And just now we are emerging from the greatest of all wars in expenditure of blood and treasure, the effects of which have placed an enormous burden upon our children, grandchildren, and those who come after them.

Even as worthy and justifiable as the causes of these wars were, nevertheless we have grown to appreciate all the more the terrible consequences of warfare.

If this league in its present form would prevent war and at the same time guarantee our national sovereignty I would hasten to proclaim approval. It is not a partisan issue. I insist that the issue is the broad question of Americanism. Democrats as well as Republicans have played major parts in preserving and upholding our Constitution and our institutions. President Grover Cleveland was just as emphatic in his denunciation of any attack upon our national sovereignty as was George Washington, the Father of his Country.

I commend and praise our President in that I believe he has given life to the germ of a plan which, with certain restrictions and alterations, tends toward the abolition of future wars. Full faith and credit are due every man for his honest endeavors, and I regret that I must oppose this document until it has been deprived of its denationalizing talons.

Let us turn to the league of nations covenant and contemplate some of the salient features which appear to me to circumvent our constitutional rights.

One of the pillars of our American Constitution has been the right of Congress to sanction any declaration of war. The right of the majority of the people, through Congress as their mouthpiece, to approve or disapprove the sending forth of American soldiers to possible death has never been questioned. And yet article 10 of this document, in my opinion, strangles the breath of life from this principle.

The first iniquitous consequences of this surrender have been felt even before we have ratified the treaty. American marines were sent recently against the Italians on the Dalmatian coast, under British direction, without the consent or knowledge of the Secretary of our Navy. The capitulation of the right of Congress to declare war is a direct and effective blow at our sovereignty. If we relinquish this right, then, indeed, the league of nations is greater than our United States.

There are those who say that we are only morally bound to protect the members against external aggression. This, to me, is a distinction without a difference. If our Nation is morally bound to do a thing, then certainly in all sincerity we should be legally bound. No sincere American can hold otherwise. Our national integrity and honor would not suggest any other theory. Granting this to be true, I see no other path but to make our position clear to the other contracting parties.

Our eminent doctors of law, in their primary lectures on contracts, lay special emphasis on the necessity of stating clearly and definitely all the terms of an agreement, leaving nothing to be inferred which may later give rise to serious controversy and lawsuit. Unless the minds of the contracting parties have met in one accord, then there is no contract. Let us set out in succinct and definable language the intent and purpose of our mind in order that we may perfect a noncontroversial agreement.

Supposing that the family of nations should not be to our liking and we should desire to change our international household surroundings; how are we to proceed? The terms of the covenant provide expressly that two years' notice shall be given and all obligations must have been completely fulfilled. Who is to determine our liabilities as to outstanding obligations?

Personally, I infer from the wording of the clause pertaining thereto that the league council would constitute the tribunal in this case. Again, I feel that we must make clear our intention and our purpose for the benefit of the other parties to the agreement. To place our application for withdrawal in the hands of the other nations for consent and favorable consideration I consider to be an abrogation of our national rights.

Articles 11 and 12 of this instrument bind us to submit to the league every circumstance threatening the good understanding of nations. A general provision of this character might cover a multitude of sins. Certainly learned doctors of contractual law would decree this statement to be ambiguous and deserving of elucidation.

Are we going to submit to the league the question of immigration from the Orient? Are we going to allow the league to fix and regulate our tariff schedule and foreign-commerce relationships? If the league council can govern our immigration, then by that privilege it can destroy us as a Nation. During these times of labor unrest we have already commenced to feel the need of strict control upon the influx of the foreign element. Rob Congress of her right to legislate and regulate her domestic problems and you strip our Republic of her sovereign rights.

The reference to the Monroe doctrine is vague and uncertain. Who shall interpret the metes and bounds of this document? Are we becoming so obsequious that we are willing to submit this historic masterpiece for interpretation by the very people against whom it was directed? I can not conceive of any such relinquishment on the part of the American Nation.

The language of our intent and purpose on this vital point should leave no question for doubt or argument. For years the principles set forth in the Monroe doctrine have kept us free from the entanglements and intrigues of the European Continent. It has served us well and faithfully, and I resent any attempt to compromise its strength and power.

The importance of cooperation and harmony between the United States and Great Britain has ever had its full weight with me. I regret that Great Britain's conception of this need did not seem to be of full strength when she demanded six votes to our one. True, it is said that five of these votes belong merely to a debating society. If they are not important, then why are they not relinquished by the British Government? If England is unable to do all of the debating for her colonies and possessions under her one major vote, then surely she ought not to expect the United States to do the debating for all of her 48 States and her possessions with a single voice.

The needs, resources, industries, and people of our Nation are as diversified and varied as those of England and her family of colonies. If the league of nations is to be an ideal brotherhood, then certainly England should feel safe and protected with the same voting power as is accorded to the United States.

There is scant reason for surprise that no particular remonstrance against the terms of the treaty has been voiced in England, France, or Japan.

If Great Britain could secure ratification of the document in its present form, she could credit herself with a diplomatic victory of colossal magnitude. To place the official star of authority upon the extended chest of Uncle Sam and to bid him police the world, including the numerous British foreign colonies, would be a signal triumph.

France displayed her faith in the league of nations by demanding a separate triple alliance in which the United States and Great Britain guarantee to come to her rescue in case of unprovoked external aggression.

Japan should feel elated at her diplomatic prize in her acquisition of the German rights in Shantung to the exclusion of China—one of our allies in a common cause.

Italy alone seems disgruntled. The effect of refusing to concede Flume unreservedly to her is developing into a serious international muddle. And yet we are asked to accede without a word of protest.

The greater portion of the men who are considering this manuscript have passed the heyday of life. So far as we are personally concerned, the disastrous results of ratifying the treaty without reservations might be placated and possibly avoided. But my heart and sympathy go out to the youth of to-day, the governing Americans of to-morrow, and the generations of Americans to come. Individuals change, conditions change, and nations change. Our friend of to-day may be our enemy of to-morrow. Present acts of love and kindness may be euphemistically interposed for deeds of hatred and cruelty on the morrow.

The late wars serve well to enlighten us as to the rapidity and suddenness with which the international family may be upset and estranged. My earnest plea is that we may avoid the perils and pitfalls of the future; that we may retain unsullied and free from emasculation the supreme sovereignty of our Nation; that the precepts and advice of our forefathers may be heeded and preserved by strict obedience.

The various Army colors and standards and all the lesser symbols and emblems have been bowed in homage to the Presidents of our country as they have stood in review, but never has the American Flag been lowered to acknowledge the superiority of any man, creed, class, or nation. May she ever proudly and supremely hold her majestic sovereignty aloft as our highest object of appreciation and respect; may the glittering stars on her field of blue be never dimmed by a more powerful light; may the sanctity and purity of her stripes never find a rival. All our lives we have been protected and sheltered by the strength of this banner, and my prayer goes up to heaven that Father Time in his cycle of years may never reach the point where the American Flag must be dipped to the dust in homage to any international emblem.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the treaty and read as follows:

"The personnel discharged from the Navy must not receive any kind of naval or military training or undertake any further service in the Navy or Army.

"Officers belonging to the German Navy and not demobilized must engage to serve to the age of forty-five, unless discharged for sufficient reasons.

"No officer or man of the German mercantile marine shall receive any training in the Navy.

"Article 195.

"In order to ensure free passage into the Baltic to all nations, Germany shall not erect any fortifications in the area comprised between latitudes 55° 27' N. and 54° 00' N. and longitudes 9° 00' E. and 16° 00' E. of the meridian of Greenwich, nor install any guns commanding the maritime routes between the North Sea and the Baltic. The fortifications now existing in this area shall be demolished and the guns removed under the supervisions of the Allied Governments and in periods to be fixed by them.

"The German Government shall place at the disposal of the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all hydrographical information now in its possession concerning the channels and adjoining waters between the Baltic and the North Sea.

"Article 196.

"All fortified works and fortifications, other than those mentioned in Section XIII (Heligoland) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe) and in Article 195, now established within fifty kilometres of the German coast or on German islands off that coast shall be considered as of a defensive nature and may remain in their existing condition.

"No new fortifications shall be constructed within these limits. The armament of these defences shall not exceed, as regards the number and calibre of guns, those in position at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty. The German Government shall communicate forthwith particulars thereof to all the European Governments.

"On the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the stocks of ammunition for these guns shall be reduced to and maintained at a maximum figure of fifteen hundred rounds per piece for calibres of 4.1-inch and under, and five hundred rounds per piece for higher calibres.

"Article 197.

"During the three months following the coming into force of the present Treaty the German high-power wireless telegraphy stations at Nauen, Hanover and Berlin shall not be used for the transmission of messages concerning naval, military or

political questions of interest to Germany or any State which has been allied to Germany in the war, without the assent of the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. These stations may be used for commercial purposes, but only under the supervision of the said Governments, who will decide the wave-length to be used.

"During the same period Germany shall not build any more high-power wireless telegraphy stations in her own territory or that of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey.

"Section III.

"AIR CLAUSES.

"Article 198.

"The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces.

"Germany may, during a period not extending beyond October 1, 1919, maintain a maximum number of one hundred seaplanes or flying boats, which shall be exclusively employed in searching for submarine mines, shall be furnished with the necessary equipment for this purpose, and shall in no case carry arms, munitions or bombs of any nature whatever.

"In addition to the engines installed in the seaplanes or flying boats above mentioned, one spare engine may be provided for each engine of each of these craft.

"No dirigible shall be kept.

"Article 199.

"Within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the personnel of air forces on the rolls of the German land and sea forces shall be demobilized. Up to October 1, 1919, however, Germany may keep and maintain a total number of one thousand men, including officers, for the whole of the cadres and personnel, flying and non-flying, of all formations and establishments.

"Article 200.

"Until the complete evacuation of German territory by the Allied and Associated troops, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany freedom of passage through the air, freedom of transit and of landing.

"Article 201.

"During the six months following the coming into force of the present Treaty, the manufacture and importation of aircraft, parts of aircraft, engines for aircraft, and parts of engines for aircraft, shall be forbidden in all German territory.

"Article 202.

"On the coming into force of the present Treaty, all military and naval aeronautical material, except the machines mentioned in the second and third paragraphs of Article 198, must be delivered to the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

"Delivery must be effected at such places as the said Governments may select, and must be completed within three months.

"In particular, this material will include all items under the following heads which are or have been in use or were designed for warlike purposes:

"Complete aeroplanes and seaplanes, as well as those being manufactured, repaired or assembled.

"Dirigibles able to take the air, being manufactured, repaired or assembled.

"Plant for the manufacture of hydrogen.

"Dirigible sheds and shelters of every kind for aircraft.

"Pending their delivery, dirigibles will, at the expense of Germany, be maintained inflated with hydrogen; the plant for the manufacture of hydrogen, as well as the sheds for dirigibles, may, at the discretion of the said Powers, be left to Germany until the time when the dirigibles are handed over.

"Engines for aircraft.

"Nacelles and fuselages.

"Armament (guns, machine guns, light machine guns, bomb-dropping apparatus, torpedo-dropping apparatus, synchronization apparatus, aiming apparatus).

"Munitions (cartridges, shells, bombs loaded or unloaded, stocks of explosives or of material for their manufacture).

"Instruments for use on aircraft.

"Wireless apparatus and photographic or cinematograph apparatus for use on aircraft.

"Component parts of any of the items under the preceding heads.

"The material referred to above shall not be removed without special permission from the said Governments.

"Section IV.

"INTER-ALLIED COMMISSIONS OF CONTROL.

"Article 203.

"All the military, naval and air clauses contained in the present Treaty, for the execution of which a time-limit is prescribed, shall be executed by Germany under the control of

Inter-Allied Commissions specially appointed for this purpose by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

"Article 204.

"The Inter-Allied Commissions of Control will be specially charged with the duty of seeing to the complete execution of the delivery, destruction, demolition and rendering things useless to be carried out at the expense of the German Government in accordance with the present Treaty.

"They will communicate to the German authorities the decisions which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers have reserved the right to take, or which the execution of the military, naval and air clauses may necessitate.

"Article 205.

"The Inter-Allied Commissions of Control may establish their organisations at the seat of the central German Government.

"They shall be entitled as often as they think desirable to proceed to any point whatever in German territory, or to send sub-commissions, or to authorize one or more of their members to go, to any such point.

"Article 206.

"The German Government must give all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of their missions to the Inter-Allied Commissions of Control and to their members.

"It shall attach a qualified representative to each Inter-Allied Commission of Control for the purpose of receiving the communications which the Commission may have to address to the German Government and of supplying or procuring for the Commission all information or documents which may be required.

"The German Government must in all cases furnish at its own cost all labour and material required to effect the deliveries and the works of destruction, dismantling, demolition, and of rendering things useless, provided for in the present Treaty.

"Article 207.

"The upkeep and cost of the Commissions of Control and the expenses involved by their work shall be borne by Germany.

"Article 208.

"The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the military clauses.

"In particular it will be its duty to receive from the German Government the notifications relating to the location of the stocks and depots of munitions, the armament of the fortified works, fortresses and forts which Germany is allowed to retain, and the location of the works or factories for the production of arms, munitions and war material and their operations.

"It will take delivery of the arms, munitions and war material, will select the points where such delivery is to be effected, and will supervise the works of destruction, demolition, and of rendering things useless, which are to be carried out in accordance with the present Treaty.

"The German Government must furnish to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the latter may deem necessary to ensure the complete execution of the military clauses, and in particular all legislative and administrative documents and regulations.

"Article 209.

"The Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the naval clauses.

"In particular it will be its duty to proceed to the building yards and to supervise the breaking-up of the ships which are under construction there, to take delivery of all surface ships or submarines, salvage ships, docks and the tubular docks, and to supervise the destruction and breaking-up provided for.

"The German Government must furnish to the Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the Commission may deem necessary to ensure the complete execution of the naval clauses, in particular the designs of the warships, the composition of their armaments, the details and models of the guns, munitions, torpedoes, mines, explosives, wireless telegraphic apparatus and, in general, everything relating to naval war material, as well as all legislative or administrative documents or regulations.

"Article 210.

"The Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the air clauses.

"In particular it will be its duty to make an inventory of the aeronautical material existing in German territory, to inspect aeroplane, balloon and motor manufactories, and factories producing arms, munitions and explosives capable of being used by aircraft, to visit all aerodromes, sheds, landing grounds, parks and depots, to authorise, where necessary, a removal of material and to take delivery of such material.

"The German Government must furnish to the Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control all such information and legislative, administrative or other documents which the Commission may consider necessary to ensure the complete execution of the air clauses, and in particular a list of the personnel belonging to all the German Air Services, and of the existing material, as well as of that in process of manufacture or on order, and a list of all establishments working for aviation, of their positions, and of all sheds and landing grounds.

"Section V.

"GENERAL ARTICLES.

"Article 211.

"After the expiration of a period of three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the German laws must have been modified and shall be maintained by the German Government in conformity with this Part of the present Treaty.

"Within the same period all the administrative or other measures relating to the execution of this Part of the Treaty must have been taken.

"Article 212.

"The following portions of the Armistice of November 11, 1918: Article VI, the first two and the sixth and seventh paragraphs of Article VII; Article IX; Clauses I, II and V of Annex n° 2, and the Protocol, dated April 4, 1919, supplementing the Armistice of November 11, 1918, remain in force so far as they are not inconsistent with the above stipulations.

"Article 213.

"So long as the present Treaty remains in force, Germany undertakes to give every facility for any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary.

"PART VI.

"PRISONERS OF WAR AND GRAVES.

"Section I.

"PRISONERS OF WAR.

"Article 214.

"The repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians shall take place as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty and shall be carried out with the greatest rapidity.

"Article 215.

"The repatriation of German prisoners of war and interned civilians shall, in accordance with Article 214, be carried out by a Commission composed of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part and of the German Government on the other part.

"For each of the Allied and Associated Powers a Sub-Commission, composed exclusively of Representatives of the interested Power and of Delegates of the German Government, shall regulate the details of carrying into effect the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

"Article 216.

"From the time of their delivery into the hands of the German authorities the prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be returned without delay to their homes by the said authorities.

"Those amongst them who before the war were habitually resident in territory occupied by the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers are likewise to be sent to their homes, subject to the consent and control of the military authorities of the Allied and Associated armies of occupation.

"Article 217.

"The whole cost of repatriation from the moment of starting shall be borne by the German Government who shall also provide the land and sea transport and staff considered necessary by the Commission referred to in Article 215.

"Article 218.

"Prisoners of war and interned civilians awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offences against discipline shall be repatriated irrespective of the completion of their sentence or of the proceedings pending against them.

"This stipulation shall not apply to prisoners of war and interned civilians punished for offences committed subsequent to May 1, 1919.

"During the period pending their repatriation all prisoners of war and interned civilians shall remain subject to the existing regulations, more especially as regards work and discipline.

"Article 219.

"Prisoners of war and interned civilians who are awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offences other than those against discipline may be detained.

"Article 220.

"The German Government undertakes to admit to its territory without distinction all persons liable to repatriation.

"Prisoners of war or other German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated may be excluded from repatriation; but the Allied and Associated Governments reserve to themselves the right either to repatriate them or to take them to a neutral country or to allow them to reside in their own territories.

"The German Government undertakes not to institute any exceptional proceedings against these persons or their families nor to take any repressive or vexatious measures of any kind whatsoever against them on this account.

"Article 221.

"The Allied and Associated Governments reserve the right to make the repatriation of German prisoners of war or German nationals in their hands conditional upon the immediate notification and release by the German Government of any prisoners of war who are nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and may still be in Germany.

"Article 222.

"Germany undertakes:

"(1) To give every facility to Commissions to enquire into the cases of those who cannot be traced; to furnish such Commissions with all necessary means of transport; to allow them access to camps, prisons, hospitals and all other places; and to place at their disposal all documents, whether public or private, which would facilitate their enquiries;

"(2) To impose penalties upon any German officials or private persons who have concealed the presence of any nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers or have neglected to reveal the presence of any such after it had come to their knowledge.

"Article 223.

"Germany undertakes to restore without delay from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all articles, money, securities and documents which have belonged to nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and which have been retained by the German authorities.

"Article 224.

"The High Contracting Parties waive reciprocally all repayment of sums due for the maintenance of prisoners of war in their respective territories.

"Section II.

"GRAVES.

"Article 225.

"The Allied and Associated Governments and the German Government will cause to be respected and maintained the graves of the soldiers and sailors buried in their respective territories.

"They agree to recognise any Commission appointed by an Allied or Associated Government for the purpose of identifying, registering, caring for or erecting suitable memorials over the said graves and to facilitate the discharge of its duties.

"Furthermore they agree to afford, so far as the provisions of their laws and the requirements of public health allow, every facility for giving effect to requests that the bodies of their soldiers and sailors may be transferred to their own country.

"Article 226.

"The graves of prisoners of war and interned civilians who are nationals of the different belligerent States and have died in captivity shall be properly maintained in accordance with Article 225 of the present Treaty.

"The Allied and Associated Governments on the one part and the German Government on the other part reciprocally undertake also to furnish to each other:

"(1) A complete list of those who have died, together with all information useful for identification;

"(2) All information as to the number and position of the graves of all those who have been buried without identification.

"PART VII.

"PENALTIES.

"Article 227.

"The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

"A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defence. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by

each of the following Powers: namely, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

"In its decision the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy, with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

"The Allied and Associated Powers will address a request to the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial."

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I see that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] has taken his seat in the Chamber. I was much interested this morning in the position taken by the Senator, that because the peace treaty is practically sure to be ratified, therefore it is entirely proper for us to take preliminary action thereunder. I do not agree with the position taken by the Senator, but I am very much pleased to hear him say that in all probability the peace treaty is going to be ratified. That indicates clearly to me, Mr. President, that the Senator and his followers are prepared to accept strong pro-American reservations, without which the treaty never can and never should be ratified.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, that may be a very interesting subject for debate, but this is not the proper time to discuss the matters to which the Senator refers. I believe in crossing a bridge when we get to it, and when we do get to that bridge we will cross it.

Mr. HALE. The Senator crossed the bridge this morning.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think probably it would hardly be proper to say that I crossed any bridge this morning. I think when we get to that bridge we will cross it, and I believe that when we get to it the only question remaining for the Senate to decide will be whether those who are in favor of ratifying the treaty with reservations can get together with Senators who are in favor of ratifying the treaty without reservations. I know that it is not possible for reservation Senators alone to ratify the treaty. It may be quite impossible for Senators who are opposed to all reservations alone to ratify the treaty. But I am very sure that Senators who are in favor of ratifying the treaty with reservations can not possibly do so by uniting with Senators who are determined to defeat the treaty under all circumstances. The only possible combination is the one I have stated.

The Secretary resumed the reading, and read as follows:

"Article 228.

"The German Government recognizes the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by law. This provision will apply notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Germany or in the territory of her allies.

"The German Government shall hand over to the Allied and Associated Powers, or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by the rank, office or employment which they held under the German authorities.

"Article 229.

"Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before the military tribunals of that Power.

"Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before military tribunals composed of members of the military tribunals of the Powers concerned.

"In every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

"Article 230.

"The German Government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to ensure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of offenders and the just appreciation of responsibility.

"PART VIII.

"REPARATION.

"Section I.

"GENERAL PROVISIONS.

"Article 231.

"The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

"Article 232.

"The Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present Treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

"The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land, by sea and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annex I hereto.

"In accordance with Germany's pledges, already given, as to complete restoration for Belgium, Germany undertakes, in addition to the compensation for damage elsewhere in this Part provided for, as a consequence of the violation of the Treaty of 1839, to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at the rate of five per cent. (5%) per annum on such sums. This amount shall be determined by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government undertakes thereupon forthwith to make a special issue of bearer bonds to an equivalent amount payable in marks gold on May 1, 1926, or, at the option of the German Government, on the 1st of May in any year up to 1926. Subject to the foregoing, the form of such bonds shall be determined by the Reparation Commission. Such bonds shall be handed over to the Reparation Commission, which has authority to take and acknowledge receipt thereof on behalf of Belgium.

"Article 233.

"The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an Inter-Allied Commission, to be called the *Reparation Commission* and constituted in the form and with the powers set forth hereunder and in Annexes II to VII inclusive hereto.

"This Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard.

"The findings of the Commission as to the amount of damage defined as above shall be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before May 1, 1921, as representing the extent of that Government's obligations.

"The Commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligation within a period of thirty years from May 1, 1921. If, however, within the period mentioned, Germany fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the Commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments, acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this Part of the present Treaty, shall determine.

"Article 234.

"The Reparation Commission shall after May 1, 1921, from time to time, consider the resources and capacity of Germany, and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date, and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 233; but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the Commission.

"Article 235.

"In order to enable the Allied and Associated Powers to proceed at once to the restoration of their industrial and economic life, pending the full determination of their claims, Germany shall pay in such instalments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may fix, during 1919, 1920 and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks. Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the Armistice of November 11, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of the said Governments, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned towards liquidation of the amounts due for reparation. Germany shall further deposit bonds as prescribed in paragraph 12 (c) of Annex II hereto.

"Article 236.

"Germany further agrees to the direct application of her economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes, III, IV, V, and VI, relating respectively to merchant shipping, to

physical restoration, to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dyestuffs and other chemical products; provided always that the value of the property transferred and any services rendered by her under these Annexes, assessed in the manner therein prescribed, shall be credited to her towards liquidation of her obligations under the above Articles.

"Article 237.

"The successive instalments, including the above sum, paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the above claims will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each.

"For the purposes of this division the value of property transferred and services rendered under Article 243, and under Annexes III, IV, V, VI, and VII, shall be reckoned in the same manner as cash payments effected in that year.

"Article 238.

"In addition to the payments mentioned above Germany shall effect, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Reparation Commission, restitution in cash of cash taken away, seized or sequestered, and also restitution of animals, objects of every nature and securities taken away, seized or sequestered, in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany or her allies.

"Until this procedure is laid down, restitution will continue in accordance with the provisions of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and its renewals and the Protocols thereto.

"Article 239.

"The German Government undertakes to make forthwith the restitution contemplated by Article 238 and to make the payments and deliveries contemplated by Articles 233, 234, 235 and 236.

"Article 240.

"The German Government recognizes the Commission provided for by Article 233 as the same may be constituted by the Allied and Associated Governments in accordance with Annex II, and agrees irrevocably to the possession and exercise by such Commission of the power and authority given to it under the present Treaty.

"The German Government will supply to the Commission all the information which the Commission may require relative to the financial situation and operations and to the property, productive capacity, and stocks and current production of raw materials and manufactured articles of Germany and her nationals, and further any information relative to military operations which in the judgment of the Commission may be necessary for the assessment of Germany's liability for reparation as defined in Annex I.

"The German Government will accord to the members of the Commission and its authorized agents the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Germany by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly Powers.

"Germany further agrees to provide for the salaries and expenses of the Commission and of such staff as it may employ.

"Article 241.

"Germany undertakes to pass, issue and maintain in force any legislation, orders and decrees that may be necessary to give complete effect to these provisions.

"Article 242.

"The provisions of this Part of the present Treaty do not apply to the property, rights and interests referred to in Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, nor to the product of their liquidations, except so far as concerns any final balance in favour of Germany under Article 243 (a).

"Article 243.

"The following shall be reckoned as credits to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations:

"(a) Any final balance in favour of Germany under Section V (Alsace-Lorraine) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe) and Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty;

"(b) Amounts due to Germany in respect of transfers under Section IV (Saar Basin) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe), Part IX (Financial Clauses), and Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways);

"(c) Amounts which in the judgment of the Reparation Commission should be credited to Germany on account of any other transfers under the present Treaty of property, rights, concessions or other interests.

"In no case however shall credit be given for property restored in accordance with Article 238 of the present Part.

"Article 24).

"The transfer of the German submarine cables which do not form the subject of particular provisions of the present Treaty is regulated by Annex VII hereto.

"ANNEX I.

"Compensation may be claimed from Germany under Article 232 above in respect of the total damage under the following categories:

"(1) Damage to injured persons and to surviving dependents by personal injury to or death of civilians caused by acts of war, including bombardments or other attacks on land, on sea, or from the air, and all the direct consequences thereof, and of all operations of war by the two groups of belligerents wherever arising.

"(2) Damage caused by Germany or her allies to civilian victims of acts of cruelty, violence or maltreatment (including injuries to life or health as a consequence of imprisonment, deportation, internment or evacuation, of exposure at sea or of being forced to labour), wherever arising, and to the surviving dependents of such victims.

"(3) Damage caused by Germany or her allies in their own territory or in occupied or invaded territory to civilian victims of all acts injurious to health or capacity to work, or to honour, as well as to the surviving dependents of such victims.

"(4) Damage caused by any kind of maltreatment of prisoners of war.

"(5) As damage caused to the peoples of the Allied or Associated Powers, all pensions and compensation in the nature of pensions to naval and military victims of war (including members of the air force), whether mutilated, wounded, sick or invalided, and to the dependents of such victims, the amount due to the Allied and Associated Governments being calculated for each of them as being the capitalised cost of such pensions and compensation at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty on the basis of the scales in force in France at such date.

"(6) The cost of assistance by the Government of the Allied and Associated Powers to prisoners of war and to their families and dependents.

"(7) Allowances by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to the families and dependents of mobilised persons or persons serving with the forces, the amount due to them for each calendar year in which hostilities occurred being calculated for each Government on the basis of the average scale for such payments in force in France during that year.

"(8) Damage caused to civilians by being forced by Germany or her allies to labour without just remuneration.

"(9) Damage in respect of all property wherever situated belonging to any of the Allied or Associated States or their nationals, with the exception of naval and military works or materials, which has been carried off, seized, injured or destroyed by the acts of Germany or her allies on land, on sea or from the air, or damage directly in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war.

"(10) Damage in the form of levies, fines and other similar exactions imposed by Germany or her allies upon the civilian population.

"ANNEX II.

"1.

"The Commission referred to in Article 233 shall be called 'The Reparation Commission' and is hereinafter referred to as 'the Commission'.

"2.

"Delegates to this Commission shall be nominated by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Each of these Powers will appoint one Delegate and also one Assistant Delegate, who will take his place in case of illness or necessary absence, but at other times will only have the right to be present at proceedings without taking any part therein.

"On no occasion shall the Delegates of more than five of the above Powers have the right to take part in the proceedings of the Commission and to record their votes. The Delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy shall have this right on all occasions."

The next amendment was, on page 261, annex 2, subsection 2, after the words "Delegates of," to strike out the words "the United States," so as to read:

Delegates of Great Britain, France, and Italy shall have this right on all occasions.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CURTIS in the chair). The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	McKellar	Simmons
Bankhead	Harding	McNary	Smith, Ariz.
Beckham	Harris	Moses	Smith, Ga.
Brandegge	Harrison	Nelson	Smith, Md.
Capper	Henderson	New	Smoot
Chamberlain	Hitchcock	Newberry	Spencer
Colt	Johnson, Calif.	Norris	Stanley
Cummins	Jones, N. Mex.	Nugent	Sterling
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Sutherland
Dillingham	Kellogg	Page	Thomas
Edge	Kendrick	Penrose	Trammell
Fall	Kenyon	Phelan	Underwood
Fletcher	Keyes	Phipps	Wadsworth
Frelinghuysen	King	Polindexter	Walsh, Mass.
Gay	Kirby	Ransdell	Warren
Gerry	Knox	Robinson	Watson
Gore	Lenroot	Sheppard	
Gronna	Lodge	Shields	

Mr. GERRY. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS]. I understand that he is detained on official business.

I also wish to announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. DIAL] are absent on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question is on the amendment of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] this morning seemed to voice the idea that those Senators who were not in favor of the pending treaty or who were opposed to its ratification were not entitled to be heard with reference to any proposed amendment or reservation thereof. I have never understood that to be the theory of legislation in this or any other parliamentary body. Legislation is a matter, first, of discussion, consideration, and generally of compromise. The treatment of a proposed treaty by this branch of the treaty-making power is that which would be given to proposed legislation.

I would feel myself derelict in my duty under my oath as a Senator if I did not propose to perfect any measure whatsoever which might be offered for adoption by this body, although I might be opposed to the measure itself and might have my mind definitely and firmly made up that, irrespective of the question whether amendments were or were not adopted, I should finally vote against the measure as a whole. In other words, I consider it to be one of the very gravest duties imposed upon a Senator in this body to perfect, if possible, legislation and to make it as innocuous as it can be made. Particularly in this instance do I consider that duty incumbent upon Senators, in view of the declarations such as we have heard from the Senator from Nebraska, who is leading the forces in favor of the treaty, that there is no question of the final adoption of the treaty.

Mr. President, I have had no hesitation whatsoever in expressing my views upon various provisions of this proposed treaty. I have none now. I have had nothing whatsoever to hide. I have not attempted to disguise my opinion nor to refrain from expressing here and elsewhere my determination upon the subject. I may reiterate that I am opposed to the constitution of the league of nations. As it is proposed, no reservation can cure, to my satisfaction, the fatal defects in that instrument. I had hoped that it might be possible to sever the proposed constitution of the league of nations from the so-called treaty of peace with Germany, which is, in fact, no treaty of peace whatsoever. I had then proposed that if, by the proper amendments, or what I considered proper amendments, my objections to the treaty itself were obviated, I should vote for the treaty. I say very frankly that in the face of the declared determination of the majority of the Senate to reject amendments to the treaty itself, I shall vote against the entire instrument. I shall, however, in pursuance of what I believe to be my duty, insist upon the amendments which I think proper to make the instrument as little disastrous or as innocuous as possible; and I conceive that in so doing I am merely performing my duty under my oath as a Member of this body.

In pursuance of that policy I have offered in the committee, and expect later to offer in the Senate, amendments to this treaty. I am perfectly aware of the fact that those amendments will be defeated. Therefore it may be asked why I should insist upon offering them. My purpose is that which I have declared, to perform my duty as I see it as a Senator.

We have seen some of the effects, at any rate; and while I have no aspirations to be considered a prophet, in my judgment you will see further effects of the offering of these amendments in the first place, of the discussion upon the amendments in the

second place, and of the rejection of the amendments in the third place, some of the results with which you are faced now.

Mr. President, for the adoption of a council of representatives of the great nations of the world to meet in annual or semi-annual assembly for the discussion of world questions and reports to their several governments, I will vote heartily at any time. This was the first plank of the platform of the League to Enforce Peace. For the creation of a world tribunal, a court based upon the foundation upon which rests the department known as the judiciary department of this Government; for the creation of a world court which may deal with world questions as the Supreme Court of the United States deals with national questions, I will vote, should I have an opportunity. This is the second plank in the platform of the League to Enforce Peace. The entire platform has been scuttled and the money raised for propaganda in support of it has been diverted to assist in the creation of a purely political body with legislative powers, alone except as in article 11 executive powers may be found.

Mr. President, various amendments have been brought out of and submitted by the majority members of the Foreign Relations Committee for perfecting the body of this instrument. They have been voted down, one at a time. The pending amendment, brought out and reported favorably by the majority of the committee, will, of course, be rejected. I am now occupying the time of the Senate in this discussion, knowing the futility of the discussion so far as the immediate result will be indicated by a vote, but knowing that the discussion itself tends to inform the people of the United States of the shackles which are being placed upon them, of the obligations which are being imposed upon them, and which they must perform or repudiate in the future. I am determined that in so far as my weak voice can reach them they shall understand before it is ratified by this body not only the obligations which they are entering into for the future through the adoption of the covenant of the league of nations, but the obligations which they are assuming for the present through the adoption without amendment of the body of the treaty itself; and I, sir, as I say, not assuming to be a prophet, am performing what I believe to be my duty, in the assurance that I shall have no apology to make to the American people hereafter for my course or for my vote, nor any explanation, sir. I may be wrong.

Mr. President, the pending amendment is not the amendment which I would see adopted to the clause under consideration. Did I not know that it was absolutely futile, I should have offered the amendment in the original form in which I proposed it in the committee—to take the United States entirely out of the reparation commission, to assume none of the obligations imposed by the reparation articles, to decline any benefits whatsoever which might come to us through the reparation provisions, and to see that neither the United States nor its people for the next 30 years had any duty to perform under its provisions, which duty, when performed, will be, under the declaration of the President of the United States or of his peace commissioners, as testified under oath, performed for the benefit, not of the people of the United States but of the people of the other nations of the world.

As was well said by Brockdorff-Rantzau—and I may be declared to be pro-German for even mentioning the name; however, I refer to an official communication signed by Brockdorff-Rantzau and answered by M. Clemenceau as the president of the allied delegates—as was well said by Brockdorff-Rantzau upon reading the reparation articles, the reparation commission provided under this treaty has more power in Germany, or in the district under the control of the reparation commission directly, and in Germany as a whole, than was ever vested in the Kaiser, in the German Empire, in the Reichstag, or in all the several States of Germany combined.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. FALL. I yield to the Senator, with pleasure.

Mr. KNOX. Does the Senator from New Mexico happen to remember that it is not only over Germany that the reparation commission exercises such vast powers, but it is over other countries as well; as, for instance, it is within the function of the reparation commission to determine how much money Belgium owes the United States up to the 11th day of November, 1918, when the armistice was signed, and to decide that the United States shall accept German bonds in payment therefor.

Mr. FALL. I thank the Senator for adding to what I have been saying so important a suggestion, which, of course, is based upon the written terms of the treaty.

Mr. President, I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying to you that these terms never will be performed. No force, no

power known to man, can compel performance of the terms which you are agreeing to enforce, except the bayonets of an overwhelming military force in Germany for 30 years.

There are no terms of peace in the reparation commission provisions of the treaty, but there is perpetual war and strife in every line of them. No country can ever remain a country, no country can retain any element of sovereignty, and perform as you provide that Germany shall perform. The only way that you can compel Germany to perform is by the bayonets of your soldiers. Still we are told that those of us who oppose this peace treaty should not even offer an amendment to mitigate in some degree the inequalities which are visited upon the United States at least by the terms of the covenant.

The amendment proposed here is simply to the effect that the American member of the commission of seven may attend the meetings of the commission, but that with the exception of his right to vote in every instance on the article dealing with the distribution of the German merchant fleet and ships now constructed or to be hereafter constructed, which she agrees to turn over to certain powers in proportion to their tonnage laws, in which article the United States is interested, he shall cast his vote and bind the people of the United States to no other provision, unless he receives direct instructions from his Government as to the casting of his vote upon that subject. In other words, that no commissioner appointed by the President of the United States, either by and with the consent of the Senate or not, shall bind this Government by his vote in regulating the affairs and conducting the supergovernment of Germany, except as he may be directly instructed by his Government at home. It simply provides that the commissioner whom we may name shall perform all his duties as the treaty itself provides that he shall perform one of them.

As the United States declared that it expected no part of the sums provided for in the nature of reparation to be given to us, and would accept no part of them, and as such declaration was not joined in by our associates, the allied powers, it became necessary, in carrying out their purposes, to see that our vote did not affect the question or influence their commissioners upon the scaling of the indebtedness. The provision therein is to the effect that upon any vote with reference to reducing the reparation demanded, the commissioner shall receive direct instructions from his Government before agreeing to any such reparation. The proposed amendment simply applies the same principle or rule to the performance of the other duties of this commissioner.

Mr. President, I shall not undertake to go at length into the discussion of the various provisions of the reparations articles. I have referred to them in broad terms alone.

There is an army provided for in these reparation commission articles to enable the reparation commission to enforce its orders. There is a further provision that the reparation commission itself may recruit armed forces of its own.

Mr. President, many of our earnest colleagues, actuated undoubtedly by as patriotic motives as those which I claim, sincerely believe that through some form of reservations somewhere they may reach the same object that I have in view in offering what is denounced so often as a textual amendment. Some of them have declared, with reference to other amendments which have been rejected here on the same line, that they would not vote to reject those amendments were they not convinced that the same object could be reached by a reservation.

It has not been my good fortune, Mr. President, to see the proposed reservations. In a discussion yesterday with one of the reservationists I was shown one of those reservations. I can say very frankly that there was an immediate disagreement between that Senator and myself as to the effect of his proposed reservation. That being the case, Mr. President, being in hopes that a reservation itself would reach the object, and therefore, if the amendment were defeated, that I might, through a vote cast for the reservation, assist in the perfecting of this instrument, but disagreeing entirely with the gentleman who supports the amendment as to its effect, I asked him who would construe the reservation.

Of course, I may say, frankly, that I can not agree with any part of the contention that is advanced by some Senators in regard to the applicability of any precedents which have been cited here with reference to the effect of reservations as saving the United States in treaties. I can not agree for one moment with those Senators who maintain that the reservations contained in the Algeiras agreement form a precedent which would be binding in the consideration of this treaty. I can not agree for a moment with the contention that the reservations contained in such agreements as those adopted at the last

Hague convention form a precedent for the consideration or construction of similar reservations or other reservations attached to this agreement.

In the first place, Mr. President, you join supine government and a political body of some character. A subject under dispute, or a dispute not under dispute, is brought up properly for consideration by the council. You have adopted a reservation of some character concerning the various subjects under discussion. If you have compelled the other allied and associated powers, who, together with the United States, constitute a perpetual majority in the council, to agree with your reservation before you have entered the council chamber, you may claim some degree of safety. If you have not required, as a condition precedent to the exchange of ratifications, that you should be joined affirmatively in those reservations by those who with you will constitute a majority of that council forever, then I say to you that the construction of the reservation itself is a point of dispute to be settled under the terms of the league covenant, and under the terms of the league covenant, if you refuse to submit that very question to arbitration, automatically the council itself takes cognizance of it, and you are precluded from voting upon it.

Again, you will be met by the proposition that, as a matter of fact, your reservations constitute amendments, in effect, to the treaty itself. Every reservationist who has spoken here declared himself as not opposed to the principle covered by these amendments and declared that he would vote for the amendments if he did not think that we could cover the same proposition by a reservation. Every one of those gentlemen agrees with the contention which inevitably would be made that the reservations themselves form amendments, and they will be met by the assertion, "We have not agreed to the amendments," and they will be met by the assertion that "You yourselves have agreed how this covenant of the league should be amended, and until it is so amended we will construe your amendments for you."

You have constituted no great court to whom the question could be submitted. You have submitted to a political body, and by the terms of your submission exclude yourselves from participating in the vote.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FALL. With pleasure.

Mr. LENROOT. What body does the Senator think would have the right to construe?

Mr. FALL. The council of the league of nations.

Mr. LENROOT. Under what authority?

Mr. FALL. Under the general authority vested in it. I know the Senator does not agree with my construction, even of the Constitution of the United States. I know he does not agree that there is any power in this council. I do not agree with him. I think there is. I think there is general power in this council and in the assembly. We disagree fundamentally upon the constitutional propositions involved—earnestly and sincerely, of course, but fundamentally. There is no point of agreement. The Senator is absolutely sincere, undoubtedly, in his contention that a reservation will reach the point which he agrees with me should be reached by reservation or textual amendment. The appeal to me that a textual amendment means the summoning of the peace council again, the submission to the peace council itself of the acceptance or rejection of the amendments, and that it will require time, is no appeal to my judgment, when the rights, possibly the destiny, certainly the future of the people of the United States are involved, and in view of the fact particularly that the peace council are now in session.

Mr. President, I offered an amendment to the provision with reference to upper Silesia, excluding the United States from taking part in the deliberations or actions or decisions of the commission appointed under the terms of this peace treaty. Until the terms of the treaty are ratified, until the treaty itself becomes effective in so far as the United States is concerned, the armistice agreed upon between the United States and its associates upon one part and Germany upon the other is in full force and effect unless denounced or violated.

Has there been any violation, in so far as we know or have been informed, of the terms of the armistice with reference to upper Silesia? None whatsoever. There has been none, I will say flatly. The armistice is in effect. The armistice proposes and disposes of the use of the armed forces of the United States until the treaty comes into effect.

It now develops in the discussion which took place this morning that the Chief of Staff of the United States has informed the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of this body that the 5,000 troops who sailed last night or this morning, destined for upper Silesia, are being sent across the water to

that point under the war power of the President of the United States and under the additional authority which he conceives to have been conferred upon him indirectly by the rejection by this body of the amendment offered by myself and voted down a few days since. This broad assertion is made despite the declaration of Senators voting against the amendment at the time that they cast their votes, or a few moments prior thereto, and repeated again this morning by the eminent Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], that the treaty itself could not be ratified unless a reservation shall be adopted which will protect the United States, as the amendment offered by myself, if it had been adopted, would have reached that purpose.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

Mr. FALL. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KNOX. I interrupted the Senator a few moments ago in calling attention to the idea of acceptance of German bonds by the reparation commission, and I made a statement which, I think, after closer examination of the text of the treaty, I was scarcely warranted in making. I was misled by the language of a document prepared for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which undertook to state the powers of the reparation commission. In this document it is stated that—

One of the powers of the reparation commission is to determine the debt Belgium owes to the allied and associated powers incurred up to November 11, 1918, with interest at 5 per cent and accept German bonds of this amount.

I find upon an examination of article 232, of which this is supposed to be a condensed statement, that acceptance of German bonds in the amount is an acceptance for Belgium and not an acceptance for those to whom Belgium owes any debt.

Mr. FALL. However, it comes under the provision to which the Senator referred.

Mr. KNOX. Yes. I wanted to make that correction.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, if I may be permitted, I am very glad that the Senator from Pennsylvania has made that correction, because that statement had been heretofore made on the floor of the Senate on several occasions and I was not able to find it. The provision to which the Senator now refers is on page 249 of the text.

Mr. KNOX. Article 232; and I think a clear reading of the article is that the bonds are to be accepted for Belgium and does not release Belgium from her obligations to a country to which she shall owe any debt.

Mr. POMERENE. In no sense does it release Belgium from her obligation to us except as it may be paid.

Mr. KNOX. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. FALL. I did not understand the Senator from Pennsylvania to make the point that it relieved Belgium from any debt. It was with reference to the powers of the Reparation Commission which we were discussing. I will say in passing that the Senator will find further, in some of the articles of the treaty, that Germany is compelled to underwrite certain other indebtedness of her allies in this war which has not yet been ascertained in so far as we know—of course over her very serious protest.

Mr. President, we are confronted by the remarkable condition of affairs that, upon the one hand, the disposition of the troops of the United States may be made in any manner whatsoever that the war power declares so long as the status of war exists, and, upon the other, we have the defeat of an amendment in this body, coupled with the declaration that the treaty itself can not go into effect unless the amendment is covered by proper reservations, and that the latter action is additional authority for the use of the armed forces of the United States, as it is not provided that they shall be used in the armistice under which we are now operating.

But, sir, even under the contention as specifically announced, I was yet astounded this morning to have the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], who was leading so well those forces which are lined up in favor of the adoption of the treaty, as he says, without the crossing of a "t" or the dotting of an "i," announce a doctrine which I have heard hinted at once or twice in this Chamber, in effect, that the status of war having been created, no power could interfere with the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in the disposition of the armed forces of the United States.

I called attention once before, two years or more ago, in this body, to what that declaration meant, that it meant in terms, in effect, or in spirit that, having declared war on Germany, neither the Congress of the United States nor any other power could prevent the President of the United States, in his discretion, from invading the neutral countries of Switzerland or Holland if, in his judgment, as military commander, he could best reach the forts in Germany through such invasion. That was the doctrine. The doctrine is that being not yet, as the Senator

says, at peace—that is, under his construction of what peace means, not having ratified the present treaty—the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States, may, in violation of the armistice entered into and under which we are operating, take the soldiers from Illinois and other States in the Union and send them, not to the Rhine Provinces, which are provided in the armistice itself to be occupied for a certain length of time, but send them across Germany or through the free city of Danzig and occupy Upper Silesia until such time as he sees fit to withdraw them. That is a peculiar theory of government to me, Mr. President; but in its logical outcome, logically followed by the commissioners of the United States of America, in concert with other members of the supreme council, a day or two since in declaring economic and armed war upon Russia, with whom we have never been at war.

I read from the Associated Press dispatches in the morning papers as follows:

LONDON, October 16.

The text of the note of the supreme council inviting Germany to participate in the blockade of Russia, as published in the Berlin Tageblatt and reprinted by the Daily Herald, shows that Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Finland, Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and Venezuela have been invited to initiate measures to prevent their nationals from engaging in any trade whatever with Bolshevik Russia. The measures are thus enumerated:

First. Refusal of permission to sail to every ship bound for a Russian Bolshevik port and the closing of all ports to ships from Bolshevik ports.

Second. Similar regulations to be adopted with regard to all goods destined for Russia by any other route.

REFUSE PASSPORTS AND CREDIT.

Third. Passports will be refused to all persons to or from Bolshevik Russia. Isolated exceptions may be made by agreement of the allied and associated powers.

Fourth. Measures will be taken to hinder banks from granting credit to commercial undertakings in Bolshevik Russia.

Fifth. Every Government will refuse its nationals any facilities of intercourse with Bolshevik Russia, whether by post or wireless telegraphy.

This, of course, constitutes economic war. The following constitutes armed warfare:

Marshal Foch added the following instruction:

"Inform the German Government that the British and French men-of-war in the Gulf of Finland will continue to blockade Bolshevik ports and detain from the moment they come in sight ships bound for Bolshevik ports."

Mr. President, this is the modern doctrine of the freedom of the seas so strenuously contended for through the windows of the White House. Every neutral ship sailing from a South American port for a Russian port called a Bolshevik port, whatsoever the port may be, so denominated by some representative of the supreme council, must understand that if encountered by a British or a French man-of-war it will not be allowed to enter the port of destination.

A blockade is a war measure, and is defined in international law as war. The Congress of the United States is not called upon to act. Why? Because, under the modern theory so eloquently announced, we are in a state of war.

Now, Mr. President, let us see what the logical consequence is. Having by proper declaration of war once entered a state of war with any nation, automatically the President of the United States, being constituted military dictator of the United States, has the power vested in him to declare war or to commit an act of war against any other country under the heavens.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

Mr. FALL. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator is not charging me with making any such statement as that, is he?

Mr. FALL. I will read from the Senator's remarks of this morning and see whether or not I was justified in even intimating that he held that opinion:

Mr. HITCHCOCK. My conviction is—and the ideas which I have had have been quite justified up to the present time—that the Senate will not adjourn without the ratification of the treaty. I do not believe that the Senate of the United States is going to back out of this war before it is finished; and the war is not finished until the German troops are out of Silesia and are supplanted by troops of the allied and associated nations, just as they have been supplanted by those troops upon the Rhine.

Continuing, the Senator said:

I say, again, that if Senators think they can defeat the ratification of the treaty, they nevertheless leave the President with the war powers. He has sent troops under the war powers to Coblenz, and there is no reason why he could not send them farther if the war powers continue. The way to take away the war powers from the President of the United States is to ratify this treaty and bring about peace.

Of course, there may be no other way; but I may say to some of the Senators who are so fond of reservations that there is a way set forth in the Declaration of Independence of the United States by which war powers can be taken away without the ratification of this treaty. God deliver us from the necessity of appealing to the ultimate powers of the people of the United States to change forcibly their form of government!

Mr. President, where are we? We have, under the provisions of the Constitution, declared war against Germany; we are in a state of war; the President has war powers; and therefore we are justified in declaring war, economic and armed, against Russia. We have declared, in violation of the terms of the armistice, that we are justified in occupying portions of Germany which were not provided to be occupied in the armistice.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. FALL. I do.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator will realize that we did not make the armistice; it was made by the President of the United States. He has the power to change it, for it is purely a military proceeding.

Mr. FALL. That is another astounding proposition. Any Senator who holds such ideas as those just expressed has an absolute contempt for the Constitution of the United States, an absolute contempt for the form of government adopted by our fathers and so far preserved by the sword of our people, or else has no conception whatsoever of what our form of government is, with its three coordinate branches of government. Apparently, as I understand the doctrine enunciated, he has no conception of international law or of the rules of war among civilized nations. The Senator does not seem to realize that an armistice takes the place of a treaty of peace for the time being when it is in effect and that a violation of it by us would be as much to be condemned by all as would be a violation of its terms by Germany.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. But the Senator has shown no violation of it.

Mr. FALL. But the Senator himself is suggesting that the President of the United States has the right to violate it in the face of all decency and of the history of the civilized world.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not at all. I say the President of the United States in conjunction with the other powers has the power to amend it and they have done so. What are you going to do about it? They have amended it.

Mr. FALL. I deny the statement. The President has done nothing of the kind in conjunction with the other powers. If he has, it does not mitigate his offense against decency and civilization, but condemns his associates in the perpetration of such an offense. Germany is a party to the armistice.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, Germany has agreed to the modification.

Mr. FALL. Germany, sir, has not agreed to the modification that we might occupy the territory referred to with troops, except as she has been compelled to do so under duress and at the point of the bayonet.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Everything is under duress.

Mr. FALL. Oh, yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. She has agreed to it.

Mr. FALL. Well, we have not in this treaty. Now, you appeal to the war powers of the President, that he, as Commander in Chief, can modify or obviate or set aside an armistice, and in the next breath you appeal to the terms of the treaty itself as modifying the terms of the armistice; and the treaty, in so far as we and the President of the United States are concerned, has not been ratified.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator misunderstands. I think. The armistice was made by the authority of the President of the United States for the United States and by the proper authorities for Great Britain, for France, for Italy, and for Japan. It was made with Germany, which assented to it under compulsion. Now all of those powers except the United States and Japan have ratified the treaty; all of those powers, including the United States and including Germany, have agreed to the modification of the armistice by which soldiers go into Silesia during the plebiscite. The other nations have taken that action under the treaty and the President has taken it under his war power. If we have not the treaty in force the President has his war power, and he has exercised his war power.

Mr. FALL. Precisely; but the Senator from Nebraska, from my point of view, instead of extricating himself from his extraordinary construction of the war powers of the President of the United States, becomes more deeply involved, for, reduced to its logical conclusion, his construction is that the President of the United States is a military dictator. I am not prepared to disagree with that construction, but as to the constitutionality or legality of that state of affairs I do disagree. That it is a fact—and the Senator has stated that it is a fact—that we are operating in this instance under a military dictatorship I agree. That there is a military dictatorship in this country legally and constitutionally or by the consent of the people of the United States I disagree.

Mr. President, let us follow this matter a little further. So long as we are at war the President under his war powers can even violate an armistice. When are we at peace? The Senator says when we ratify this treaty. Why, Mr. President, we solemnly declared war against the Austro-Hungarian Empire; we have now pending a treaty of peace terminating the war with Austria, and we have in process of negotiation a treaty of peace supposed to be intended to terminate the war with what remains of Hungary, Hungary having been broken up and divided. A portion of it goes to or is claimed by Bulgaria; another portion to Roumania, or she lays claim to it; and still another portion, I believe, we have agreed to turn over to Czechoslovakia and to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. So long as we have not entered into a treaty of peace with the Hungarian portion of the former Austrian Empire the dictatorship in this country and throughout the world will continue. That is the logical argument and the only deduction which can be made from the war powers of the President as construed by his representatives here. Therefore if we can just hold off peace with any other country the President of the United States can continue to exercise his war powers abroad; he can continue to send our troops wherever he may please; he can continue to take part in a declaration of war upon an ally—for Russia was an ally of the United States—and under his war power, being a military dictator, he can use the armed forces of the country anywhere he pleases and not be guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor and be subject to punishment by impeachment through the Congress of the United States. I deny any such construction.

Mr. President, are the soldiers, if they are needed in blockading Bolshevik ports, to be diverted from their destination in Upper Silesia to Russia to join or cooperate with the American forces already there unconstitutionally? How long are the war powers to continue? Yet we are told that if we adopt textual amendments to this treaty we will prevent the United States having peace with the world; that if we reject the proposition for American representation on the reparation commission—and the Austrian treaty and every other treaty which is now being prepared is full of commissions; and an army of Bullitts or representatives of like or other character, I suppose, are in training for the positions which you are assisting to constitute for them—a like result will follow. We are told as an excuse for the violation of the Constitution, as an excuse for a usurpation of power by the President of the United States such as no other man in the United States ever dared to undertake, that finally Germany will pay for the occupation by our troops of Upper Silesia. A wonderful argument, Mr. President; an argument that will appeal, of course, to Senators in this body.

We were told by the same Senator a few days ago that amendments ought not to be adopted because a very great financial benefit was to be derived—I think he mentioned about \$1,000,000,000—by the United States, if not directly by reparation, through the indirect operation of the reparation commission in Germany. Exalted sentiments, worthy of indorsement by those who believe that no textual amendments should be adopted to this treaty, worthy of those who hold to the belief that by a mere declaration of war against an enemy the President of the United States automatically becomes a military dictator, and that so long as war is not ended by a written document adopted by the military dictator and ratified by us without the crossing of a "t" or the dotting of an "i," his military war powers continue and he can command the forces of the United States to invade or its ships to blockade a friendly country!

Mr. President, I have little more to say. In so far as I am concerned, the vote may be taken. With the amendments proposed and those which will be proposed defeated, I shall vote against the ratification of the entire treaty; and in doing so I again say that in my heart I have the assurance that I shall never be called upon to apologize or feel of myself the necessity for apologizing to any people anywhere for my action and my vote, nor will it be necessary for me to explain it.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I shall not undertake to discuss the distinction between reservations and textual amendments; but I believe I can show that if the Senate desires to attain the objects sought to be accomplished by this amendment it can be done by the resolution of ratification, in which the Senate must provide for the appointment of all representatives of the United States under the treaty and define their powers and duties, or such provision may be made by joint resolution or statute.

Now, let us see what this amendment is. It is an amendment of Annex 2, page 261, section 2, which section provides:

Delegates to this commission shall be nominated by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Each of these powers will appoint one delegate and also one assistant delegate.

The next part of the section reads as follows:

On no occasion shall the delegates of more than five of the above powers have the right to take part in the proceedings of the commission and to record their votes. The delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy shall have this right on all occasions.

In the pending amendment the words "United States" are stricken out and the following words added:

The delegate of the United States shall have no vote in the proceedings of the commission except concerning a matter wherein such delegate is specifically instructed by his Government to take part in proceedings of the commission and to cast and record the vote of the United States thereupon; but shall always have such right when Annex III to the reparation clauses or any section thereof is under consideration.

Annex III provides for the disposition of the shipping, and so forth.

The Senate should, and undoubtedly will, pass a resolution ratifying the treaty and providing that the Congress of the United States will provide by statute for the appointment of its representatives under the league and treaty on commissions, boards, courts, or to any other position; establishing the extent to which the United States is to participate therein; and defining and limiting the powers and duties of the various commissioners and representatives, mode of appointment; and finally providing that until that is done no one shall represent the United States under the league or treaty.

It is the clear duty of the Senate of the United States to pass such a resolution, and it devolves upon the Congress to provide by statute for those appointments and to define the powers and duties of our representatives and the extent of their participation in these commissions. If that is done—and I know it has been considered by the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who has given a great deal of attention to it—there is absolutely no necessity for this amendment.

This amendment provides that the delegate of the United States shall have no vote in the proceedings of the commission except concerning a matter wherein such delegate has been instructed by his Government to take part in the proceedings of the commission and to cast and record the vote of the United States thereupon. The Congress will by statute provide that, and the resolution of ratification should give notice that the Congress will do it by statute; and until that is done we shall have no commissioners, and we shall have no delegate.

Of all amendments within my knowledge, this is the least necessary.

The foreign countries are not at all interested in how we shall appoint our representatives. That is for the Congress to decide; and the resolution of ratification, I believe, can and should thoroughly protect the United States until Congress has acted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is upon amendment numbered 45, proposed by the committee.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Gerry	McCumber	Sheppard
Bankhead	Gronna	McKellar	Simmons
Beckham	Hale	McNary	Smith, Ariz.
Borah	Harris	Moses	Smith, Ga.
Brandegee	Harrison	Myers	Smith, Md.
Capper	Henderson	Nelson	Smoot
Chamberlain	Hitchcock	New	Spencer
Colt	Johnson, Calif.	Newberry	Stanley
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Norris	Sterling
Cummins	Kellogg	Nugent	Sutherland
Curtis	Kendrick	Overman	Swanson
Dial	Kenyon	Page	Thomas
Dillingham	Keyes	Penrose	Townsend
Edge	King	Phelan	Trammell
Fall	Kirby	Phlips	Underwood
Fernald	Knox	Pittman	Walsh, Mass.
Fletcher	La Follette	Pomerene	Walsh, Mont.
Frelinghuysen	Lenroot	Ransdell	Warren
Gay	Lodge	Robinson	Watson

Mr. DIAL. I wish to announce that my colleague, the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], is detained by illness in his family.

Mr. GERRY. The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] are absent on official business. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] is detained by illness in his family.

Mr. HENDERSON. I desire to announce the absence of the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT], on account of illness in his family.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Seventy-seven Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present. The Secretary will state amendment numbered 45.

The SECRETARY. On page 261, in Annex II, article 2, after the words "the delegates of," on line 3 of the last paragraph, strike

out the words "the United States" and the comma, so that it will read:

The delegates of Great Britain, France, and Italy shall have this right on all occasions.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I would like to inquire of the Senator from New Mexico whether he desires a ye-a-and-nay vote on these amendments?

Mr. FALL. It is immaterial to me, Mr. President. So far as I am concerned, I have no desire in the matter. There is no question but that the amendments will be defeated.

Mr. PENROSE. Let us have a ye-a-and-nay vote.

Mr. FALL. Other Senators ask for a ye-a-and-nay vote. I suggest to Senators that the ye-a-and-nay vote on one amendment is sufficient.

Mr. PENROSE. I will withdraw the request.

Mr. FALL. Then I have no request to make. The amendments heretofore have been defeated, and this amendment will be defeated, I presume, by approximately the same vote. So I agree that a viva voce vote may be had.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will state amendment numbered 46.

The SECRETARY. On line 4 of the last paragraph on page 261, after the word "occasions" and the period, it is proposed to insert the following words:

The delegate of the United States shall have no vote in the proceedings of the commission, except concerning a matter wherein such delegate is specifically instructed by his Government to take part in proceedings of the commission and to cast and record the vote of the United States thereupon, but shall always have such right when Annex III to the reparation clauses or any section thereof is under consideration.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will continue the reading.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the treaty and read as follows:

"The Delegate of Belgium shall have this right on all occasions other than those referred to below. The Delegate of Japan shall have this right on occasions when questions relating to damage at sea, and questions arising under Article 260 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) in which Japanese interests are concerned, are under consideration. The Delegate of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall have this right when questions relating to Austria, Hungary or Bulgaria are under consideration.

"Each Government represented on the Commission shall have the right to withdraw therefrom upon twelve months notice filed with the Commission and confirmed in the course of the sixth month after the date of the original notice.

"3.

"Such of the other Allied and Associated Powers as may be interested shall have the right to appoint a Delegate to be present and act as Assessor only while their respective claims and interests are under examination or discussion, but without the right to vote.

"4.

"In case of the death, resignation or recall of any Delegate, Assistant Delegate or Assessor, a successor to him shall be nominated as soon as possible.

"5.

"The Commission will have its principal permanent Bureau in Paris and will hold its first meeting in Paris as soon as practicable after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and thereafter will meet in such place or places and at such time as it may deem convenient and as may be necessary for the most expeditious discharge of its duties.

"6.

"At its first meeting the Commission shall elect, from among the Delegates referred to above, a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, who shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. If a vacancy in the Chairmanship or Vice-Chairmanship should occur during the annual period, the Commission shall proceed to a new election for the remainder of the said period.

"7.

"The Commission is authorised to appoint all necessary officers, agents and employees who may be required for the execution of its functions, and to fix their remuneration; to constitute committees, whose members need not necessarily be members of the Commission, and to take all executive steps necessary for the purpose of discharging its duties; and to delegate authority and discretion to officers, agents and committees.

"8.

"All proceedings of the Commission shall be private, unless, on particular occasions, the Commission shall otherwise determine for special reasons.

"9.

"The Commission shall be required, if the German Government so desire, to hear, within a period which it will fix from time to time, evidence and arguments on the part of Germany on any question connected with her capacity to pay.

"10.

"The Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard, but not to take any part whatever in the decisions of the Commission. The Commission shall afford a similar opportunity to the allies of Germany, when it shall consider that their interests are in question.

"11.

"The Commission shall not be bound by any particular code or rules of law or by any particular rule of evidence or of procedure, but shall be guided by justice, equity and good faith. Its decisions must follow the same principles and rules in all cases where they are applicable. It will establish rules relating to methods of proof of claims. It may act on any trustworthy modes of computation.

"12.

"The Commission shall have all the powers conferred upon it, and shall exercise all the functions assigned to it, by the present Treaty.

"The Commission shall in general have wide latitude as to its control and handling of the whole reparation problem as dealt with in this Part of the present Treaty and shall have authority to interpret its provisions. Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, the Commission is constituted by the several Allied and Associated Governments referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 above as the exclusive agency of the said Governments respectively for receiving, selling, holding, and distributing the reparation payments to be made by Germany under this Part of the present Treaty. The Commission must comply with the following conditions and provisions:

"(a) Whatever part of the full amount of the proved claims is not paid in gold, or in ships, securities and commodities or otherwise, Germany shall be required, under such conditions as the Commission may determine, to cover by way of guarantee by an equivalent issue of bonds, obligations or otherwise, in order to constitute an acknowledgment of the said part of the debt.

"(b) In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first, to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the Powers represented on the Commission.

"(c) In order to facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of the Allied and Associated countries, the Commission will as provided in Article 235 take from Germany by way of security for and acknowledgment of her debt a first instalment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes and charges of every description established or to be established by the Government of the German Empire or of the German States, or by any authority subject to them; these bonds will be delivered on account and in three portions, the marks gold being payable in conformity with Article 262 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty as follows:

"(1) To be issued forthwith, 20,000,000,000 Marks gold bearer bonds, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest. There shall be specially applied towards the amortisation of these bonds the payments which Germany is pledged to make in conformity with Article 235, after deduction of the sums used for the reimbursement of expenses of the armies of occupation and for payment of foodstuffs and raw materials. Such bonds as have not been redeemed by May 1, 1921, shall then be exchanged or new bonds of the same type as those provided for below (paragraph 12, c, (2)).

"(2) To be issued forthwith, further 40,000,000,000 Marks gold bearer bonds, bearing interest at 2½ per cent. per annum between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent. per annum with an additional 1 per cent. for amortisation beginning in 1926 on the whole amount of the issue.

"(3) To be delivered forthwith a covering undertaking in writing to issue when, but not until, the Commission is satisfied that Germany can meet such interest and sinking fund obligations, a further instalment of 40,000,000,000 Marks gold 5 per cent. bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the Commission.

"The dates for payment of interest, the manner of applying the amortisation fund, and all other questions relating to the issue, management and regulation of the bond issue shall be determined by the Commission from time to time.

"Further issues by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the Commission subsequently determines from time to time.

"(d) In the event of bonds, obligations or other evidence of indebtedness issued by Germany by way of security for or acknowledgment of her reparation debt being disposed of outright, not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several Governments in whose favour Germany's original reparation indebtedness was created, an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, etc., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.

"(e) The damage for repairing, reconstructing and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including reinstallation of furniture, machinery and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done.

"(f) Decisions of the Commission relating to the total or partial cancellation of the capital or interest of any verified debt of Germany must be accompanied by a statement of its reasons.

"13.

"As to voting, the Commission will observe the following rules:

"When a decision of the Commission is taken, the votes of all the Delegates entitled to vote, or in the absence of any of them, of their Assistant Delegates, shall be recorded. Abstention from voting is to be treated as a vote against the proposal under discussion. Assessors have no vote.

"On the following questions unanimity is necessary:

"(a) Questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or the cancellation of the whole or any part of the debt or obligations of Germany;

"(b) Questions of determining the amount and conditions of bonds or other obligations to be issued by the German Government and of fixing the time and manner for selling, negotiating or distributing such bonds;

"(c) Any postponement, total or partial, beyond the end of 1930, of the payment of instalments falling due between May 1, 1921, and the end of 1926 inclusive;

"(d) Any postponement, total or partial, of any instalment falling due after 1926 for a period exceeding three years;

"(e) Questions of applying in any particular case a method of measuring damages different from that which has been previously applied in a similar case;

"(f) Questions of the interpretation of the provisions of this Part of the present Treaty.

"All other questions shall be decided by the vote of a majority.

"In case of any difference of opinion among the Delegates, which cannot be solved by reference to their Governments, upon the question whether a given case is one which requires a unanimous vote for its decision or not, such difference shall be referred to the immediate arbitration of some impartial person to be agreed upon by their Governments, whose award the Allied and Associated Governments agree to accept.

"14.

"Decisions of the Commission, in accordance with the powers conferred upon it, shall forthwith become binding and may be put into immediate execution without further proceedings.

"15.

"The Commission will issue to each of the interested Powers, in such form as the Commission shall fix:

"(1) A certificate stating that it holds for the account of the said Power bonds of the issues mentioned above, the said certificate, on the demand of the Power concerned, being divisible in a number of parts not exceeding five;

"(2) From time to time certificates stating the goods delivered by Germany on account of her reparation debt which it holds for the account of the said Power.

"The said certificates shall be registered, and upon notice to the Commission, may be transferred by endorsement.

"When bonds are issued for sale or negotiation, and when goods are delivered by the Commission, certificates to an equivalent value must be withdrawn.

"16.

"Interest shall be debited to Germany as from May 1, 1921, in respect of her debt as determined by the Commission, after allowing for sums already covered by cash payments or their equivalent, or by bonds issued to the Commission, or under Article 243. The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent. unless the Commission shall determine at some future time that circumstances justify a variation of this rate.

"The Commission, in fixing on May 1, 1921, the total amount of the debt of Germany, may take account of interest due on sums arising out of the reparation of material damage as from November 11, 1918, up to May 1, 1921.

"17.

"In case of default by Germany in the performance of any obligation under this Part of the present Treaty, the Commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested Powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

"18.

"The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

"19.

"Payments required to be made in gold or its equivalent on account of the proved claims of the Allied and Associated Powers may at any time be accepted by the Commission in the form of chattels, properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, within or without German territory, ships, bonds, shares or securities of any kind, or currencies of Germany or other States, the value of such substitutes for gold being fixed at a fair and just amount by the Commission itself.

"20.

"The Commission, in fixing or accepting payment in specified properties or rights, shall have due regard for any legal or equitable interests of the Allied and Associated Powers or of neutral Powers or of their nationals therein.

"21.

"No member of the Commission shall be responsible, except to the Government appointing him, for any action or omission as such member. No one of the Allied or Associated Governments assumes any responsibility in respect of any other Government.

"22.

"Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty this Annex may be amended by the unanimous decision of the Governments represented from time to time upon the Commission.

"23.

"When all the amounts due from Germany and her allies under the present Treaty or the decisions of the Commission have been discharged and all sums received, or their equivalents, shall have been distributed to the Powers interested, the Commission shall be dissolved.

"ANNEX III.

"1.

"Germany recognises the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to the replacement, ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war.

"Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the tonnage of German shipping at present in existence is much less than that lost by the Allied and Associated Powers in consequence of the German aggression, the right thus recognised will be enforced on German ships and boats under the following conditions:

"The German Government, on behalf of themselves and so as to bind all other persons interested, cede to the Allied and Associated Governments the property in all the German merchant ships which are of 1,600 tons gross and upwards; in one-half, reckoned in tonnage, of the ships which are between 1,000 tons and 1,600 tons gross; in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the steam trawlers; and in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the other fishing boats.

"2.

"The German Government will, within two months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, deliver to the Reparation Commission all the ships and boats mentioned in paragraph 1.

"3.

"The ships and boats mentioned in paragraph 1 include all ships and boats which (a) fly, or may be entitled to fly, the German merchant flag; or (b) are owned by any German national, company or corporation or by any company or corporation belonging to a country other than an Allied or Associated country and under the control or direction of German nationals; or (c) are now under construction (1) in Germany, (2) in other than Allied or Associated countries for the account of any German national, company or corporation.

"4.

"For the purpose of providing documents of title for the ships and boats to be handed over as above mentioned, the German Government will:

"(a) Deliver to the Reparation Commission in respect of each vessel a bill of sale or other document of title evidencing the transfer to the Commission of the entire property in the vessel, free from all encumbrances, charges and liens of all kinds, as the Commission may require;

"(b) Take all measures that may be indicated by the Reparation Commission for ensuring that the ships themselves shall be placed at its disposal.

"5.

"As an additional part of reparation, Germany agrees to cause merchant ships to be built in German yards for the account of the Allied and Associated Governments as follows:

"(a) Within three months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in German shipyards in each of the two years next succeeding the three months mentioned above.

"(b) Within two years of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in each of the three years following the two years mentioned above.

"(c) The amount of tonnage to be laid down in each year shall not exceed 200,000 tons, gross tonnage.

"(d) The specifications of the ships to be built, the conditions under which they are to be built and delivered, the price per ton at which they are to be accounted for by the Reparation Commission, and all other questions relating to the accounting, ordering, building and delivery of the ships, shall be determined by the Commission.

"6.

"Germany undertakes to restore in kind and in normal condition of upkeep to the Allied and Associated Powers, within two months of the coming into force of the present Treaty, in accordance with procedure to be laid down by the Reparation Commission, any boats and other movable appliances belonging to inland navigation which since August 1, 1914, have by any means whatever come into her possession or into the possession of her nationals, and which can be identified.

"With a view to make good the loss in inland navigation tonnage, from whatever cause arising, which has been incurred during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers, and which cannot be made good by means of the restitution prescribed above, Germany agrees to cede to the Reparation Commission a portion of the German river fleet up to the amount of the loss mentioned above, provided that such cession shall not exceed 20 per cent of the river fleet as it existed on November 11, 1918.

"The conditions of this cession shall be settled by the arbitrators referred to in Article 339 of Part XII (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty, who are charged with the settlement of difficulties relating to the apportionment of river tonnage resulting from the new international régime applicable to certain river systems or from the territorial changes affecting those systems.

"7.

"Germany agrees to take any measures that may be indicated to her by the Reparation Commission for obtaining the full title to the property in all ships which have during the war been transferred, or are in process of transfer, to neutral flags, without the consent of the Allied and Associated Governments.

"8.

"Germany waives all claims of any description against the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals in respect of the detention, employment, loss or damage of any German ships or boats, exception being made of payments due in respect of the employment of ships in conformity with the Armistice Agreement of January 13, 1919, and subsequent Agreements.

"The handing over of the ships of the German mercantile marine must be continued without interruption in accordance with the said Agreement.

"9.

"Germany waives all claims to vessels or cargoes sunk by or in consequence of naval action and subsequently salvaged, in which any of the Allied or Associated Governments or their nationals may have any interest either as owners, charterers, insurers or otherwise, notwithstanding any decree of condemnation which may have been made by a Prize Court of Germany or of her allies.

"ANNEX IV.

"1.

"The Allied and Associated Powers require, and Germany undertakes, that in part satisfaction of her obligations expressed in the present Part she will, as hereinafter provided, devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas of the Allied and Associated Powers, to the extent that these Powers may determine.

"2.

"The Allied and Associated Governments may file with the Reparation Commission lists showing:

"(a) Animals, machinery, equipment, tools and like articles of a commercial character, which have been seized, consumed or destroyed by Germany or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations, and which such Governments, for the purpose of meeting immediate and urgent needs, desire to have replaced by animals and articles of the same nature which are in being in German territory at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty;

"(b) Reconstruction materials (stones, bricks, refractory bricks, tiles, wood, window-glass, steel, lime, cement, etc.), machinery, heating apparatus, furniture and like articles of a commercial character which the said Governments desire to have produced and manufactured in Germany and delivered to them to permit of the restoration of the invaded areas.

"3.

"The lists relating to the articles mentioned in 2 (a) above shall be filed within sixty days after the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

"The lists relating to the articles in 2(b) above shall be filed on or before December 31, 1919.

"The lists shall contain all such details as are customary in commercial contracts dealing with the subject matter, including specifications, dates of delivery (but not extending over more than four years), and places of delivery, but not price or value, which shall be fixed as hereinafter provided by the Commission.

"4.

"Immediately upon the filing of such lists with the Commission, the Commission shall consider the amount and number of the materials and animals mentioned in the lists provided for above which are to be required of Germany. In reaching a decision on this matter the Commission shall take into account such domestic requirements of Germany as it deems essential for the maintenance of Germany's social and economic life, the prices and dates at which similar articles can be obtained in the Allied and Associated countries as compared with those to be fixed for German articles, and the general interest of the Allied and Associated Governments that the industrial life of Germany be not so disorganised as to affect adversely the ability of Germany to perform the other acts of reparation stipulated for.

"Machinery, equipment, tools and like articles of a commercial character in actual industrial use are not, however, to be demanded of Germany unless there is no free stock of such articles respectively which is not in use and is available, and then not in excess of thirty per cent. of the quantity of such articles in use in any one establishment or undertaking."

ENTRY OF ALIENS—HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair as in legislative session lays before the Senate the bill (H. R. 9782) to regulate the entry of aliens into the United States, which will be read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, it occurs to me that that bill is properly referable to the Committee on Immigration. If it deals with passport regulations it ought to go to the Committee on the Judiciary, because that committee considered the last bill on the subject and reported it back to the Senate, and this is really a reenactment of the existing law. I am not sure whether this is the same measure, known as the passport bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will say that the bill begins:

That if the President shall find that the public safety requires that restrictions and prohibitions in addition to those provided otherwise than by this act should be imposed upon the entry of aliens into the United States, and shall make public proclamation thereof, it shall, until otherwise ordered by Congress, be unlawful—

And so forth.

The Chair was of the distinct impression that the bill ought to be referred to the Committee on Immigration, but it has now been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Of course, however, it is subject to a motion for a change of reference.

Mr. KING. I have no particular interest in the measure. We are all anxious that that measure, or a similar one, shall

pass; but it occurred to me that if it was a reenactment of existing law, a bill which was reported from the Judiciary Committee before, it ought to go to the same committee, but that if it was dealing with the general subject of immigration, it ought to go to the Immigration Committee.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I have just entered the Chamber. May I inquire what the message from the House is?

Mr. KING. It is the passage of a bill.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What is the bill?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It is H. R. 9782, and it is entitled "A bill to regulate further the entry of aliens into the United States."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I am the chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, to which a joint resolution concerning that very question was referred. The joint resolution was introduced by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. NELSON. The Senator from Minnesota spoke to me this morning as to what should be done with the bill that was passed by the House. It is known as the passport bill, I believe.

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I told the Senator from Minnesota that he had better consult the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] if the question of jurisdiction between the Foreign Relations Committee and the Judiciary Committee was to be raised. They did talk together here, and I heard their conversation, from which I inferred that the Senator from Minnesota was willing that the bill should go to the Foreign Relations Committee. The Senator from Massachusetts said that that committee had always taken jurisdiction of passport matters; it comes under the State Department; and I would move that the bill be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill has already been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Very well. I thought the Senator from Utah was claiming its reference to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. KING. I think the bill ought to go to the Judiciary Committee, for the reason that the passport bill—at least, a bill to continue its existence—was reported before by the Judiciary Committee. That committee is now considering a measure similar to this, and perhaps one that amplifies its provisions. The Immigration Committee, too, is also considering the subject, so that it would be properly referable to that committee; but in view of the statement made by the Senator I have no objection to having it referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I merely want to make an observation touching this matter, in the hope that the bill will not be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. The chairman of the Immigration Committee is not here. It appears to some of us to be a question that ought to go to the Immigration Committee. It is a question of the admission of certain aliens into the United States; and I was in hope that the matter might be held in abeyance until the chairman of that committee could be present.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair may be permitted to say that it is subject to a motion to refer the bill to the Committee on Immigration if any Senator desires to make the motion.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I did not know that there was any question about the jurisdiction of the Immigration Committee. While I think the question of passports would not come peculiarly under the jurisdiction of that committee, I ask unanimous consent that the reference be reconsidered, and that the matter lie upon the desk, undisposed of as to its reference, until the chairman of those three committees can be on the floor.

Mr. HARRISON. That is entirely satisfactory.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the reference will be reconsidered, and the bill will lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE subsequently said: Mr. President, I wish to ask that the bill (H. R. 9782) to regulate further the entry of aliens into the United States, which I understand is on the table, and which was in charge of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. I think it belongs to that committee. I have spoken to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, and also to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CORR], the chairman of the Committee on Immigration, and they are both entirely satisfied that the bill should be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. I therefore ask that that reference be made.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts moves that the bill named by him shall be referred to

the Committee on Foreign Relations. The question is on that motion.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Massachusetts if the chairman of the Committee on Immigration favors that course being taken?

Mr. LODGE. Yes; he has been spoken to to-day, and said he had no objection.

Mr. PITTMAN. Very well.

Mr. LODGE. The bill was reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House, and I think it involves naturally a question of foreign relations.

Mr. PITTMAN. I only asked the question because the Senator from Massachusetts was not present at the time the discussion concerning the bill took place a while ago.

Mr. LODGE. I was told that the Senator from Rhode Island had been spoken to and that he was entirely satisfied to have the bill referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I myself spoke to the Senator from Minnesota, the committee of which he is chairman having a similar bill before it.

Mr. KING. I may say to the Senator that the original bill—and this is a bill to continue its existence—was reported by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate at the last session of Congress; but I have no objection to the bill going to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LODGE. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate, as in legislative session, adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, October 18, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, October 17, 1919.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven, by whom we are continually upheld and sustained, control our minds, direct our ways, and make straight our paths, that our service may be of the highest and best, that we may ascend day by day to the higher manhood in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. In the opinion of the Chair no quorum is present.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa moves a call of the House.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER. The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. BLANTON. Division!

The House divided; and there were—ayes 39, noes 14.

So a call of the House was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Ackerman	Ferris	Kennedy, Iowa	Nicholls, S. C.
Andrews, Md.	Fess	Kennedy, R. I.	Ogden
Anthony	Fields	Kiess	Olney
Barkley	Frear	Kincheloe	Overstreet
Begg	Fuller, Ill.	La Guardia	Palce
Boomer	Fuller, Mass.	Langley	Parker
Brand	Gallivan	Larsen	Pell
Brinson	Gandy	Lee, Ga.	Peters
Britten	Godwin, N. C.	Little	Porter
Caldwell	Goldfogle	McAndrews	Rainey, H. T.
Campbell, Kans.	Goodall	McClintic	Rainey, Ala.
Caraway	Goodykoontz	McCulloch	Ransley
Carew	Gould	McFadden	Reavis
Cartor	Graham, Pa.	McKiniry	Reed, N. Y.
Casey	Greene, Vt.	McLane	Riddick
Collier	Hamill	McLaughlin, Nebr.	Riordan
Costello	Heflin	MacGregor	Robison, Ky.
Cullen	Hill	Maher	Ronjace
Davis, Minn.	Houghton	Mann	Rowan
Dempsey	Howard	Mason	Rowe
Donovan	Hull, Iowa	Mead	Rubey
Doolling	Husted	Moore, Pa.	Sanford
Dorumus	Ireland	Moore, Ind.	Saunders, Va.
Drane	Johnson, Miss.	Morin	Scully
Eagle	Johnson, S. Dak.	Murphy	Sells
Ellsworth	Johnston, N. Y.	Neely	Sinnott